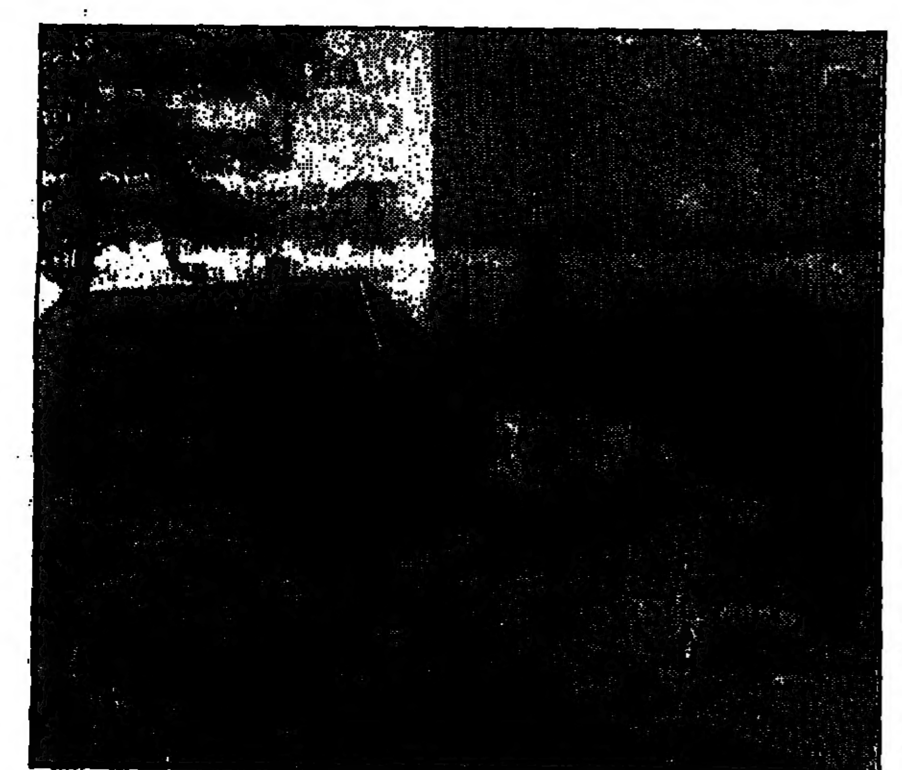
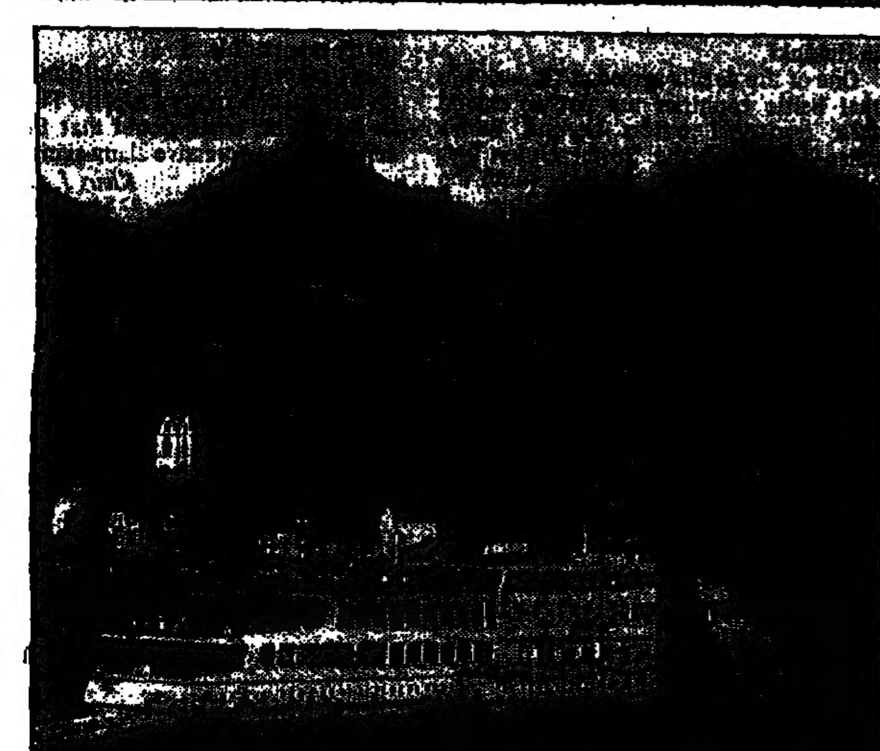
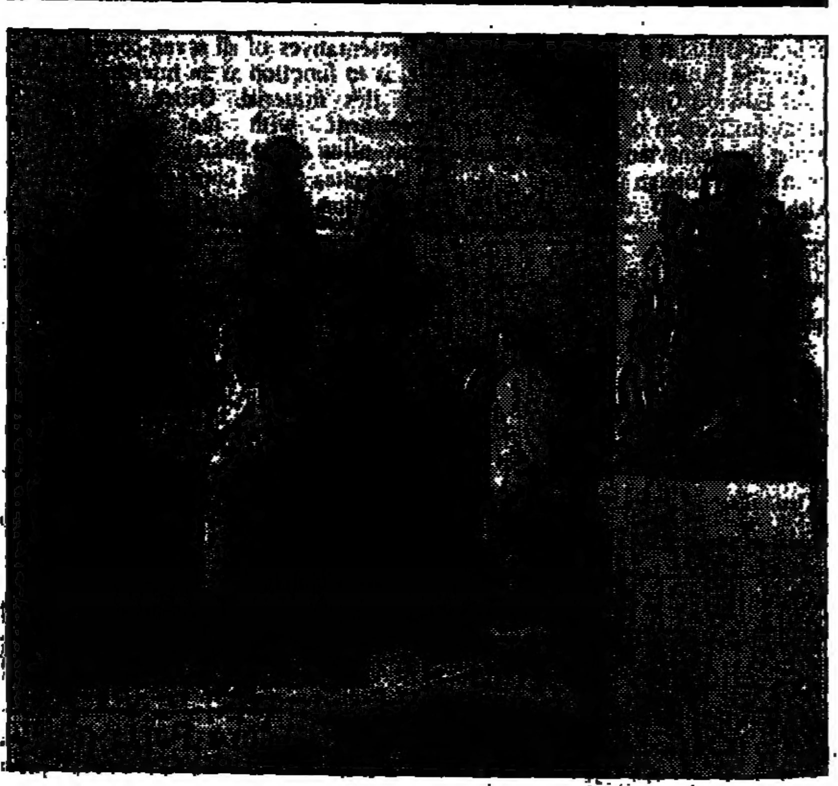








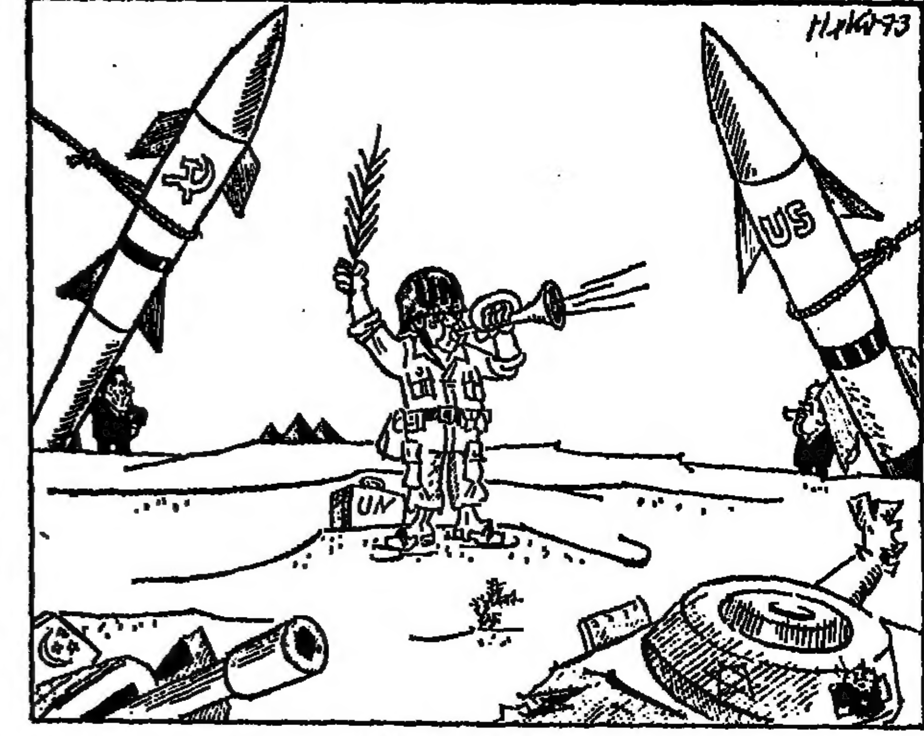
The German Tribune

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Western Europe must exert itself in world affairs



Hold it, boys, hold it!

(Cartoon: Herbert Kolfhaus/Münchner Merkur)

Maybe Europe has got its just deserts. The expressions of displeasure that have lately been crossing the Atlantic in our direction would undoubtedly have been formulated in less forthright terms had not the powers that be in Washington been convinced, and not unjustifiably so, that they could deal with their European allies in much the same way as with misbehaving schoolboys.

As long as Western Europe has as little self-assurance as at present and as long as its constituent countries persist in schoolboy japes among their ranks no one need be surprised when others assume a schoolmasterly role.

A chill has set in on Western Europe of late, and not because the Arab oil states might turn off the tap either. Illusions die hard and for far too long London and Bonn, Paris and Rome have succumbed to the illusion that US interests would continue for the foreseeable future to coincide with those of Western Europe. Yet there has been no lack of indications that interests have been diverging for some time. As long as Western Europe was almost totally dependent economically on the United States the situation was a straightforward one. Washington called the tune and sang the solos; Europe sounded the chorus.

This has long ceased to be the case, however. The United States is pursuing its own economic and power-political interests and Europe, by occasionally voicing new ideas and pursuing interests of its own, has grown extremely tiresome from America's point of view.

For a surprisingly long time this conflict was papered over by the non-committal but cheering concept of partnership. North America and Western Europe did retain a number of issues on which there were no difference of opinion.

The course of the Middle East crisis has made it clear that current US policy views partnership in its own way as one side taking the decision and the other toeing the line.

President Nixon promptly delivered unsolicited avuncular advice to the effect that America's friends in Europe had not been as cooperative as they might have been in helping to resolve the Middle East crisis, adding somewhat overbearingly, that Western Europe would have frozen this winter had it not been for US action.

Defence Secretary James R. Schlesinger had already been even more outspoken, maintaining that the United States would have to investigate Nato responsiveness and review established notions and doctrines in the alliance as a result of what it considered a lack of cooperation in the Middle East crisis.

For the State Department Robert McCloskey was no less scathing in his criticism of the allies' failure to support the American airlift to Israel which, he said, was "just as much in the interests of West Germany and other Nato allies as it is in our interest." The United States would have welcomed a little support.

Domestic heating oil may still be available but a chill has nonetheless set in in Western Europe, caused by the realisation that Atlantic partnership in practice is not what it may have been felt to be in theory.

Neither Chancellor Brandt nor President Pompidou nor Premier Heath were consulted by the United States prior to the worldwide alert for US forces, including missile units.

If this is the way the superpowers propose to conduct relations with their allies (and there is no reason for assuming that the Soviet Union is given to behaving any differently), then so much for partnership.

Since no one can imagine that the United States and the Soviet Union have evolved foolproof means of keeping the peace either in the Middle East or elsewhere it is high time Western Europe as a whole plucked up courage to voice its thanks for tutelage of this kind by voicing its own opinion in no uncertain terms in future crises.

When Dr Kissinger talked in terms of a new Atlantic Charter last April Western European governments were none too easy at the idea. Now is the time for them jointly to insist on a fresh definition of the Atlantic alliance.

The United States helped Europe to get back on its feet after the Second World War, it is true, but it must be remembered that America has not allied itself with Western Europe because of our good looks.

American military presence and partnership in and with Western Europe are undoubtedly in US interests, and to underline the fact is not to call the alliance into question but merely to engage in plain and sounder speaking.

Europe is midway between the two giants. Its role has a great deal to do with the balance of power. It is not only its right but its duty to throw its weight into the balance in the interests of peace. In order to perform this duty Western Europe must stop playing a pitiful role in the wings of world affairs.

Werner Holzer
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 October 1973)

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Mid-East conflict shows Europe is third rate not a third force

This country is reputed to be an industrial giant but a political dwarf, but the latest war in the Middle East has brought to light the whole, brutal truth. Europe as a whole is politically powerless.

In times of relative peace and quiet the hollow slogan of Europe as a third force may have sounded fairly convincing, but now the crunch has come Europe is a third-rate not a third force.

When detente is the order of the day the powers that be claim to have negotiated valuable consultation machinery for use in the event of a crisis. As soon as the first shot is fired these vain hopes on the part of European leaders are revealed for what they are: scraps of paper.

Europe is not even informed after the event about the real trend in confidential talks between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Past illusions have now painfully had to be jettisoned. By being on good political behaviour Europe has by no means assured itself of greater security in the face of great-power pressure.

Everyone will by now have realised that the Middle East crisis is also a European crisis, that the fighting on the Suez Canal adversely affect the Continent and that the struggle for Israel is a struggle to defend a Western bastion that the United States is underwriting and for the same reasons in the same way as it has supported Europe.

The laurels of peace are beginning to have a withered, autumn look about them. Without a word we cower in the shade of the great powers – like the Chinese in the UN Security Council, which has also been reduced to the status of a walk-on part in the current crisis.

All that is left is two nuclear giants who have joined forces in an uneasy partnership dictated by their respective systems' will to survive.

The partnership is an uneasy one because each would like to dislodge the other from the higher echelons, yet at the moment it represents the only effective prospect of forestalling a Third World War.

Past sentiment no longer counts, only sober military and strategic considerations. Yet Europe does not even own to a common defence strategy that stands any likelihood of proving effective in the circumstances.

According to Brussels the efficacy of Soviet SAM missiles has necessitated a rethink. Europe was not even mentally prepared for a crisis that is, as it stands, also a European crisis.

The threat of blackmail by the OPEC countries failed to come up against a common European energy policy. The Europeans were not even able to speak with one voice in the Security Council – despite countless past declarations of their intention to do so.

What Europe lacks is a supreme political leadership, and this lack already represents a serious threat to our existence. Political integration is a distant prospect and it now seems unlikely whether free Europe will ever achieve this ambition.

Thomas Mann's vision of Europe threatens to become an alarmingly real possibility, that of a body of intelligent individualists parleying vainly and arrogantly on the magic mountain of their self-deception.

Hans-Jürgen Müller
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 27 October 1973)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Unease in Vietnam

For thousands of Vietnamese troops September was a prelude to something that their generals expect next year – a new offensive by Hanoi.

In September the Communists attacked infantry posts almost every day on the outer defence ring of the imperial city of Hué.

West of the city of Pleiku in the Central Highlands units from two North Vietnamese divisions overran the strategically important government stronghold Le Minh using tanks and heavy artillery.

Fifty kilometres north-west of Saigon, close to the provincial capital Te Nin, the 101st Viet Cong regiment consisting of an estimated three-fifths North Vietnamese sparked off the bloodiest conflict since the ceasefire of 28 January.

The number of dead and wounded is believed to be in the hundreds. President Thieu maintains that Hanoi has launched a new offensive.

But observers of the North Vietnamese political scene doubt this. They point to the major economic difficulties experienced by Hanoi and the differences of opinion in the North Vietnamese politburo. The observers feel that Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and Party Secretary Le Duan plan to turn all their manpower to economic reconstruction thus postponing the war against the South.

General Giap, on the other hand, considers the time right for North Vietnam to push for a definitive military victory and has called upon the politburo to agree to an attack to fulfill the aim of his life: to force Saigon to capitulation.

Leaving aside the speculation about the differences of opinion in the politburo and regarding North Vietnam's activities south of the 17th Parallel it looks as through South Vietnam is faced with a continuation of the war.

During the past nine months of official ceasefire Hanoi has cheerfully been busy strengthening its military position in South Vietnam. Military zone I bordering on North Vietnam and comprising the five most northerly provinces of South Vietnam is as good as annexed by Hanoi. Saigon does hold all five provincial capitals as well as most of the populated areas on the narrow coastal strip. But the government positions are cut off from each other by a network of new all-weather roads on the construction which North Vietnam soldiers are at present busily employed.

Particular significance is attached to a west to east road in the province of Binh Dinh in military zone 2 twenty kilometres north of the district of Kontum which is constantly being fought for. This road will give the North Vietnamese access to the fishing port Sa Huynh on the South China Sea.

North Vietnamese troops are also working on the extension of former American and French airfields. So far twelve such airfields have been made ready for use in Viet Cong territory. The most important are Khe Sanh and Carroll, both in the province of Kwang Tri which borders on North Vietnam and Laos.

The construction of a 6,000-foot landing strip in Khe Sanh makes it possible for MiG 19 and MiG 21 fighters to take off and land. Hanoi has obtained these from the Russians. From Khe Sanh the MiG 21 is capable of striking at Saigon. Thus the North Vietnamese have fulfilled at least the technical needs for a war in the air between Hanoi and Saigon over South Vietnamese air space.

Saigon is particularly concerned about the additional security for the communist infrastructure provided by conventional aerial defence systems and more particularly SAM 2 rockets for which sixteen special regiments each of 2,000 men have been brought into the South. President Thieu has repeatedly protested against this violation of article 7 of the Paris Treaty and announced counter-measures.

Since February President Nixon has issued several warnings about the serious consequences of these activities. But the North Vietnamese have so far not been impressed by the threats from Saigon and Washington. They deny details – despite the existence of clear proof – and argue that it is the concern of "the provisional revolutionary government" what happens in territories it controls.

For Hanoi this means removing the logistic weaknesses of the offensive of Giap's tanks should run out of fuel again or that his soldiers should be left without rations.

As a result Hanoi has not only failed to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam which at the time of the signing of the Paris Treaty were estimated at 145,000 by the Americans and 300,000 by President Thieu, but has in fact reinforced them by an estimated 60,000 including several thousand women.

Obviously these Vietnamese are intended to settle in Viet Cong territory and operate surreptiously as farmers, administrators and soldiers. Thus Hanoi is not only building itself a supply base within South Vietnam but is also infiltrating the population with its troops. Most Viet Cong units which have suffered serious losses in recent years are today up to full strength, thanks to the reinforcements from the North.

Saigon is worried about but not afraid of the rekindling of the war. President Thieu has the third most powerful airforce in the world as far as the number of planes is concerned. He has supplies of armaments worth $5,000 million and commands 1,100,000 troops which in the past few years have become a most powerful strike force. The population whose political attitudes largely determine the decisions taken expresses little sympathy for the Communists.

Nevertheless it is comforting for the Saigon government to hear from Washington that America will not stand by and watch a North Vietnamese offensive. One factor that has been taken as immediate proof that the Americans continue to feel responsibility for South Vietnam, according to Saigon politicians is the decision by the American Senate not to cut the annual military aid programme of $952 million.

Christel Pilz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 October 1973)

Change of government in Bangkok

The world is rubbing its eyes in amazement. The peace-loving Thais have risen and in a brief but volcanic revolution have swept away the corrupt military clique that usurped power two years ago, closed the parliament and banned political parties.

Half a million people are said to have taken to the streets of Bangkok with students in the forefront. A free and democratic constitution was demanded by the mob.

Their leaders demanded the public execution of the men at the head of the government who had made the country far wealthier by enlisting a plethora of foreign capital aid.

The generals opened fire and hundreds died. In this kind of situation many another country would have been on the verge of catastrophe. But the Thais were fortunate in that they had a higher authority, the demi-god King Bhumipol, whose picture they carried through the streets while singing and chanting.

King Bhumipol, who normally keeps out of political matters, spoke on the radio. He and the newly nominated prime minister Sanya Thammasak, a respected university lecturer, guaranteed a return to democracy to the rebelling youth.

There remains the question of Thailand's position with regard to foreign policy. The military with their close ties with the USA have so far been able to protect their country from communist attack. It is to be hoped that Bangkok can keep this up.

(Deutsche Zeitung, 19 October 1973)

Development aid in Indo-China

South Vietnam's head of State President Thieu is trying every means at his disposal to get to grips with the problem of developing his country economically. Now virtually the whole of his economics Cabinet have fallen victim to this. It is possible that Thieu was looking for scapegoats for the lack of success of his economic policy.

The economic policymakers can, however, scarcely be expected to carry the can entirely for the failures of their policies. South Vietnam is not in any position to get its economy going off its own bat. Unless foreign aid is poured in economic stagnation will continue for a long time yet, with all its consequences for political stability and hence the future of South Vietnam.

Since the end of January industrial countries have been promising aid to South Vietnam but it has got no further as yet.

Of course it is clear that one of the essential pre-conditions for reconstruction aid has not been fulfilled, namely an actual ceasefire quite apart from good intentions expressed in this direction.

Cambodia is in a state of war and the instances of violation of the ceasefire in South Vietnam are legion. This makes practical planning well nigh impossible from the outset. In the case of Laos the situation is different. Since the spring the ceasefire that was agreed on in Paris in January has by and large been adhered to. Nevertheless there are no signs even in Laos that potential aid donors are getting together to plan campaigns of aid.

Initial moves towards coordinated aid or ever a multilateral fund have existed from the start. But these efforts have obviously been put on ice or even been regarded as a failure. In fact only bilateral aid continues at the planned rate.

Just how in disarray the industrial nations are despite all the lip-service they have paid to Indo-China is shown by the shelving of the special fund long since planned by the Asian Development Bank (ADB):

Donor countries were supposed to pay $525 million into this fund with the USA pumping in $150 million, Japan $177 million and the Federal Republic $30 million. The former colonial power France, like Austria, gave the cold shoulder to the ADB plan, and the Scandinavian countries are biding their time.

The Asian Development Bank would have been an ideal forum for international aid with its structure and experience. Little faith is placed in the United Nations as the trustee of an aid fund. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund can be regarded more as credit suppliers than organisers.

It is no longer a question of organising the aid, however. The thousands of millions that were promised at the beginning of this year seemed to have proved somewhat illusory. Among the sums discussed were $7,500 million from the United States, while the overall cost of reconstruction in Indo-China as a whole in the next five years is reckoned to be $20 to $30 milliard.

Efforts were made to set up an international fund of $2,000 million before this year was out, the monies going to North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This plan has not come to fruition.

Individual countries as well have been slow in coming forward with the possible aid they could offer, such as capital agreements and guaranteed investment capital.

Japanese businessmen have realised the economic potential that Indo-China offers. They are engaged in improving their position with regard to future trade constantly.

In Laos they organised prospecting of the potential ore deposits in the south and east. They have a contract involving them in the expansion of the habour at Da Nang in South Vietnam into a free port for Laotian exports.

In Saigon the Japanese were the first to apply for drilling concessions for the oil fields that it was believed were off the Vietnamese coast. They received the concessions. Japanese commercial concerns are constantly increasing their representation in almost all cities.

The ADB says that the countries of South-East Asia have good prospects for the future. What they need most urgently is investments. And since the governments themselves have hardly any money for this purpose they are forced to rely on foreign capital. Their part of the bargain is to offer the most generous concessions for investments along with tax reliefs.

Josef Abaffy

(Handelsblatt, 25 October 1973)

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POLITICS

SPD Duisburg congress causes leadership further problems

DIE ZEIT

Like most Social Democrat meetings the congress called to found the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Arbeitnehmerfragen* (Study group for labour problems, AfA) ran out of time, having to deal with more than 400 resolutions. At the meeting in Duisburg to set the new study group on its way so many problems had accumulated that even marathon discussions could not cope with them all.

As a result the 300 or so delegates allowed resolutions to be passed en bloc which were worthy of individual and detailed discussion. Although a resolution from south Hesse concerning the maximum permissible level of private capital in the means of production was passed at a great pace in the closing stages of the conference it did not really fit into the general picture.

This meeting to form the AfA gave the lie to suggestions that the till now silent majority of the SPD would finally clip the wings of the Young Socialists and set the SPD on that middle course that its leadership is pursuing in alliance with the FDP.

Hopes silently entertained included the hope that with the aid of an organised body representing the workers to whom the SPD must be thankful for the victory of 19 November 1972 the Young Socialists could be driven back so hard that they would become a peripheral group playing the theoretical glass bead game.

None of this came about. On the contrary, the majority of the delegates gave their approval to a course that will make life difficult for the Social Democrats within the coalition of the Free Democrats. They resolved:

- Where parity worker participation is concerned with equal importance ascribed to capital and labour there would be no cuts – especially of the kind suggested by the FDP.
- Price controls together with measures to manage investments would be introduced although Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt had issued expressed warnings about such a move since it would have to be followed by wage controls. The only success that Schmidt and his fellow combatants, trade unionist and Bundestag member Friedhelm Farthmann, were able to achieve was the agreement that these controls should not be direct inroads into pricing policies but should involve supervision of cost calculations especially where companies with a controlling slice of the market were concerned.
- Agreement in principle to a national health service.
- Increase in the tax free allowance on Christmas bonuses from 100 to 300 Marks starting this year and lowering of taxes before the date set by Helmut Schmidt. Although Schmidt has warned against releasing "new milliards of purchasing power" to the public.

This list could be lengthened by several points.

Political tranquillizer

The formation of the AfA was far from being the "political tranquillizer" for the party that south Hesse delegate Jörg Jordan called it. The conflicts between grass-roots and the party leadership were manifest. So it sounded like faith-healing when Helmut Rohde, parliamentary State Secretary to the Bonn Ministry of Labour Affairs, who was elected chairman of the study group remarked that it would have been a miracle if the conference had not been controversial in its discussions and its decisions.

The conflicts are all the more marked in that the broad mass of the delegates was composed not of volatile young iconoclasts but trade unionists with an average age around forty. Those who talked with them could not fail to notice that they are disappointed with this their government. The pressure and sentiments they have come to sense on the factory-floor were passed on by them in Duisburg.

Heinz Oskar Vetter backed them up. He said unequivocally that where worker participation was concerned there could be no Ifs and Buts. He stated that the smaller coalition partner was becoming "more intolerable all the time" as if the coalition with the FDP were a mésalliance.

The union boss appealed to Chancellor Willy Brandt, "to take a hard line on the basic aspects of worker participation." The DGB Chairman added that in the past Social Democrat trade unionists had always felt the firm surface of the party cliff face supporting them while today they often grabbed for a hand-hold and clutch at empty air.

This was a massive challenge. But Willy Brandt avoided it. He like Herbert Wehner backed the coalition in vague terms. On honourable compromis es, he stated, were not so bad as dogmatic obstinacy. In other words the interests of a continued coalition retain a higher priority among the SPD leadership, despite the rapprochement that has been achieved on worker participation, than the wishes expressed by the trade unions and their appeals to remember the mandate given the SPD last November.

The chairman of the meeting bordered on impoliteness with his brusque sentence: "The congress thanks comrade Brandt for his speech which we have noted and understood."

Later the delegate voted against a recommendation that the AfA committee should organise massive campaigns and demonstrations for the unions' and Social Democrats' demands with regard to worker participation.

One may not wish to set too much store by this, since all AfA decisions on matters that are discussed at SPD party-political meetings can only be of a declamatory nature. The mood among the rank and file in Duisburg reflects such resolutions every bit as much as the violent disputes in Duisburg about the institutional role the study group should play within the Social Democrat party.

There was a strong tendency to try to make it a party within the party and it was only with great effort that those who wanted to make the AfA have influence at all levels in the SPD by renouncing all claims to a special role were able to win their point.

AfA Chairman Helmut Rohde, obviously a man who senses the various currents within the party expressed this conflict at the end of the conference by saying that on the one hand it was a question of continuation of the SPD/FDP coalition, while on the other the vote of the working classes on 19 November 1972 must be respected.

The fact that the SPD cannot hope to form a government without the continued alliance with the FDP is something that Brandt, Wehner and others in Duisburg expressed, however hesitantly, and something that the party leadership must constantly hammer into the rank and file. But their chances of finding a sympathetic audience are slender.

The pressure of expectations from below is so great that the decisions taken in Duisburg can scarcely be divided up into the convenient categories of "left" and "right".

If the leadership hoped to play down the influence of the Left it must have been disappointed because the delegates from about 3,000 workers' groups tended to strengthen this influence, however loath they may be to have anything obviously in common with the *Jusos*. With the formation of the AfA has not channelled the desire for Socialism in any particular direction, but simply institutionalised it.

Thus, in future the conflict is less likely to be between Left and Right than between "above" and "below". The subject for debate is what is and what is not possible within the framework of the SPD/FDP coalition. The feeling is that the men at the top are trying to teach their subordinates how to live with the Free Democrats. But the rank and file of the party seeks a decisive socialist policy from its leaders and finds it missing.

Thus Duisburg did not help integrate the party but rather opened up new spheres of tension. At the end of the Congress the delegates did something they have not done for many years; they sang the old battle-song *Brüder, zur Sonne, zur Freiheit*. At a time when the government is headed by the Social Democrats many of the delegates expected this to be taken as a warning.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, 26 October 1973)

Matthias Wissmann – the new leader of the CDU's *Junge Union*

When it got around that the Bavarians had voted for Matthias Wissmann many observers at the national congress of the *Junge Union* in Hamburg believed they could see the turn events were taking to be the accustomed one.

Bavarians are known for being conservative even when they are young and as a result can have no interest in seeing the senior parties CDU and CSU in turmoil.

But when Wissmann who had been elected chairman of the 167,000-strong CDU youth group, gave the closing address to his colleagues at the conference speculations of this kind cease to be quite so important.

Wissmann, who speaks as imposingly with a quiet voice as his colleague Wolfgang Roth of the Young Socialists, said that the CDU youth movement must, "see through its aims by taking an aggressive stance against the parent party".

It is a question of involved reform policies to the left-wing of the "Union" concerning worker participation and land laws, accumulation of capital wealth in private hands and the restructuring of vocational training. The first test of strength will be the CDU conference in Hamburg at which the problem of worker participation will be at the heart of all discussions. The decision that the national committee of the CDU recently took after long labour pains and for which the committee will wage war in Hamburg is as far as Wissmann and the whole *Junge Union* are concerned "not fit for discussion".

The alternatives have been presented by the young CDU together with the social services sub-committees which Wissmann calls "our natural allies". They involve amendments to company law along with a consistent parity solution.



Matthias Wissmann (Photo: dpa)

Just how strong the battalions of the new reform wing that has arisen after this national congress really are is at the moment difficult to gauge. Wissmann is hoping for the present that together with the Katzer group he can rustle up enough votes for his resolution on parity worker participation at the CDU Hamburg conference.

His opponent Wulf Schönbohm who was beaten at the vote in Hamburg has been able to observe the party for some length of time in various positions reckons that the "left-wing" cannot hope for more than 300 or at the most 350 votes out of a total of 800.

Matthias Wissmann will have a hard enough time of it winning for his followers the strenghth that should be due to them considering their numbers.

One handicap he faces without a doubt is his lack of years. Wissmann, a student of law from Tübingen, reached his present position avoiding many of the usual stepping-stones and thus missing out on much of the experience that could stand him in good stead at the moment.

Two things will, without doubt, be of value to the new *Junge Union* leader. First there is his personal skill which allowed him to cope with many a tricky moment at the national congress as if it were a matter of routine. Furthermore the fact that he has an organisation solidly behind him will be of great value.

The younger members of the CDU are more well aware today of what they want than ever before in their short history.

In a "strategic paper" that the delegates approved as the basis for discussions in the future this is laid out clearly and concisely: they are seeking a "third way" somewhere between Capitalism and Socialism. It is a way the new CDU/CSU should pursue with pragmatism and independence of vested interests.

Herbert Karl

(Deutsche Zeitung, 26 October 1973)

■ THE JOB WORLD

Metalworkers press for better working conditions

Every worker likes to feel he is doing a worth while job, develop his talents during working hours and have a say in the routine of the working day – but the division of labour in our industrial society makes the actual situation at work appear somewhat harsher.

His employment and the working methods used are not planned with him in mind – instead he must conform to the demands they exert on him. He is not asked about his natural rhythm and his mental and physical abilities or needs.

The outcome is that the organisation of labour and consequently the work itself is inhumane and drained of all rationality, though the employer is still able to derive some profit from it.

Employers grant little if any recognition to demands by trade unions to reform the often intolerable working conditions.

The amount of mental and physical strain in industry and administration is rapidly increasing. The rising tempo of work and the constant demands imposed on the worker exert such a strain on him that he becomes a physical wreck in the long term.

Trade unions demand that work should be organised in such a way that it can be carried out without imposing excessive strain on the worker. But calls for greater attention to be paid to the worker's personal well-being are still unheeded in practice.

Among the basic demands raised by the Metalworkers Union on behalf of its members in North Württemberg and North Baden were better working conditions tailor-made to the worker and ensuring his personal well-being. It also demanded new wage provisions.

Dr Hans Güntner touched upon this problem when appointed arbitrator in the dispute. He proposed altering the legal position of piece-workers and departing from the current practice whereby wage deals are concluded according to the principle of free bargaining.

He therefore replaced the liberal provisions with the risks involved to the worker in times of bad trade with a set of regulations that would pay greater attention to the worker's welfare.

According to the new regulations, the employer would have to prove that the conduct or personal failings of the employee were at fault when he did not achieve the usual piecework wage.

Dr Güntner believes that pieceworkers should be guaranteed 130 per cent of their basic wage when working longer hours or at any increased rate. He based this 130-per-cent solution on the assumption that pieceworkers' wages were usually never under 130 per cent of their basic pay but considerably higher.

Statistics issued by the employers reveal that only just under ten per cent of pieceworkers earn less than 130 per cent of their basic pay. These are usually workers who have just been retrained or are not yet or no longer able to keep up with the general tempo of the work for reasons of health.

Dr Güntner explained why ensuring pieceworkers 130 per cent of their basic wage can be justified from the point of view of welfare. Past experience has shown, he said, that workers lie well above the guaranteed wage levels for which they are insured and that it would be intolerable to penalise their readiness for extra work by not making allowances for social insurance in piecework contracts.

By taking account of social insurance, Dr Güntner is departing from the legal position of the early capitalist and liberal eras and introducing a code conforming to the present-day blend of free enterprise and welfare state. It is no more revolutionary than this.

Dr Güntner is not stepping out on a new course when he proposes ensuring pieceworkers get paid a certain percentage higher than their basic wage. With this ruling he is only taking into account changes of legal viewpoint.

Dr Güntner pointed out that the workers would not lose their incentive as a result of this solution and the increase in their hourly break from five to six minutes is, he said, the first basic requirement for the organisation of labour along humalines.

Stress makes workers ill and leads to more cases of disability. This is generally well-known though not, it seems, to the employers. If they were to stop seeing things from the profit angle and consider the position of the worker they would find a good deal that is alarming.

Complaints due to stress are among the ten most common industrial diseases. Even among male workers in the 20 to 25 age range there are almost five hundred cases of heart disease a year. These cases demand hospitalisation lasting on average seventeen days.

But there are worse statistics to follow. Almost twenty thousand persons in this age range suffer nervous diseases. Doctors told the capitalists as long as fifty years ago that workers achieve better performance when they are allowed breaks during their work.

Six minutes' relaxation after an hour's strain on an assembly-line or involved in piecework will not paralyse industry. But it will help a person remain healthy all that longer. That alone is important. There can be no alternatives on this point.

How do our "enlightened and progressive" employers react to this? Why, they are barefaced enough to assert that a minimum break of six minutes an hour will reduce the working week from 40 to 36 hours, representing an intolerable cost to industry.

Metal manufacturers in Baden-Württemberg claim that at least twenty thousand Turkish workers will have to be recruited from their homeland to prevent a drop in production following the introduction of six-minute breaks.

What they are really saying is this – either you workers do without your breaks or you'll be to blame if even more immigrants come to live here.

They could not act in worse taste. All they are concerned about are their profits and not their employees.

Gerhard Haller

(Welt der Arbeit, 19 October 1973)

Increase in strike incidence

Considerably more strikes were registered in the first six months of this year than during the whole of 1972, according to figures published by the Bavarian Statistical Bureau.

In the first six months of 1973 strikes were recorded at 655 firms. A total of 63,620 workers were involved and 113,650 working days lost.

During the whole of last year strikes involving 22,908 workers were recorded at 54 firms. Only 66,045 working days were lost.

(Handelsblatt, 18 October 1973)

1974 unemployment will increase, research institute claims

NRZ NEUE RUHR ZEITUNG

The 1974 unemployment figures will be higher than this year's according to the latest labour market analysis conducted by the Institute of Labour Market and Career Research (IAB), a branch of the Nuremberg-based Federal Labour Bureau.

Developments on the labour market have been rather contradictory this year, the Institute finds. At six per cent economic growth has been high.

There was a 170,000-person drop in the amount of potential domestic labour while the unemployment figures have risen by twenty thousand or 7.7 per cent to an annual mean of 265,000.

The drop in the amount of potential domestic labour – the voluntary age of retirement is beginning to make itself felt – is more than balanced by an increase in the number of foreign workers. Two and a half million foreign workers are now working in the Federal Republic.

Although the rise in the number of unemployed can be partly attributed to changes in economic structure, the IAB believes that a number of indications point additionally to the effect on the labour market of the dimishing boom.

Even if the average unemployment figures in the coming year, when trade is bound to be weaker, do not rise above the level reached by the end of 1973, the number of unemployed in 1974 will be above this year's figure.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 20 October 1973)

Economic stability is all important

Five reputable academic institutes have outlined the danger of increasing unemployment as a result of excessive wage increases. They state in their joint report, published every six months, that ill-considered action on the part of both sides of industry could lead to a drop in employment. They also recommend the government and the Federal Bank to continue pursuing their stability policy.

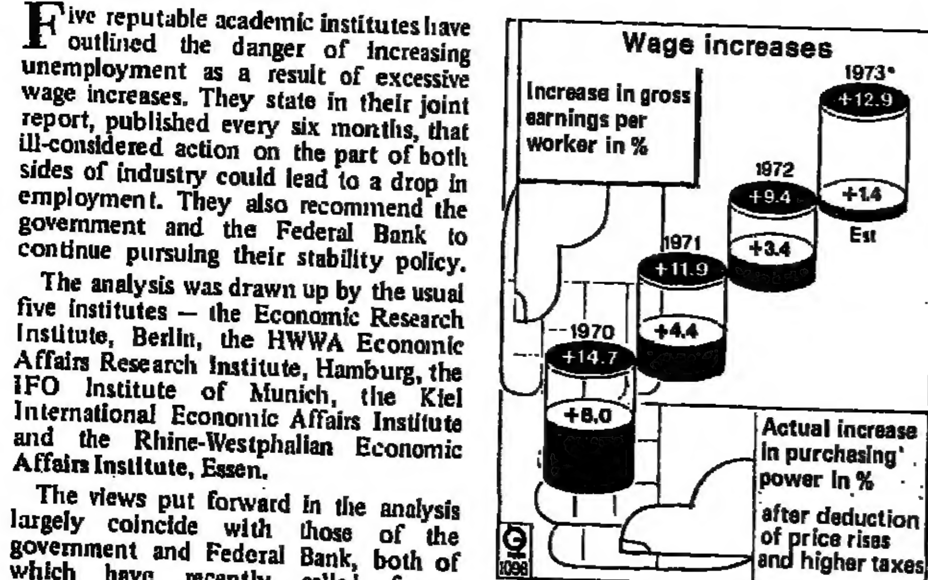
The analysis was drawn up by the usual five institutes – the Economic Research Institute, Berlin, the HWWA Economic Affairs Research Institute, Hamburg, the IFO Institute of Munich, the Kiel International Economic Affairs Institute and the Rhine-Westphalian Economic Affairs Institute, Essen.

The views put forward in the analysis largely coincide with those of the government and Federal Bank, both of which have recently called for a continuation of the policy of stabilisation.

The Economic Affairs Ministry accordingly refers to the report as a balanced analysis of developments in the economic sector and a responsible presentation of aspects of economic policy.

A reduction of economic expansion would, the report states, reduce the dangers of inflation more and more and thus increase the chances of approaching a position of stability.

But, it adds, the economic climate has not yet settled down to such a point where wages policy too might suddenly swing on to the same tack as the



government's and Federal bank's course of stabilisation.

It is also doubtful, the report points out, whether the two sides of industry recognise the risks that excessively high wage awards might involve for sales and employment.

In view of the gloomy experiences at the beginning of the year – low-key pay deals had no effect on prices – the trade unions are left with the possibility of incorporating into wage deals clauses that could take effect only if prices were to rise rapidly once again.

Employers, the report adds, should consider that high wage increases cannot be passed on to the consumer to such an extent as in the past. Instead of raising prices, they must reduce profits.

The institutes which compiled the report forecast a greater clash between the twin aims of full employment and price stability for 1974. But the bodies responsible for economic policy are faced by no other alternative than to continue the current course.

"The possibility of tax concessions or a relaxation of monetary restrictions are therefore ruled out," the report adds. Even if price stability was pegged back as a result of a basic clash of aims, the principle of full employment would not profit in the long run.

Drop in growth rate

The institutes believe that the rate of growth of the real national product will drop next year from this year's figure of six per cent to only three per cent. To save money, firms will cut the amount of overtime, introduce more short-term working and reduce the size of their staff.

The report also forecasts a drop in the rise of the cost of living from seven per cent to six per cent in 1974. Services, repairs and prices fixed by the authorities will continue to rise, however.

"The rise in consumer prices will probably tail off in the foreseeable future because of the effect of food prices and, later in the year, that of industrial goods," the report states.

The price of raw materials will gradually become stable, the report claims, and could probably even drop next year. The institutes which compiled the report do not reckon with a worldwide recession.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 October 1973)

■ THE LAW

Difficult times for the administrators of justice

The administration of justice in the Federal Republic has itself been on trial for the past fifteen years. The first test of the country's desire for justice began at the end of the fifties with the – delayed – trials of persons accused of crimes of violence committed during the Nazi era.

This phase is now at an end but the history of these trials has still to be written. It will have a good deal of bitterness to report. It cannot be otherwise as the judges and the accused belonged to the same generation.

The second phase was the trial of demonstrators following the unrest of Easter 1968. Judges were shown no respect for the first time ever in German legal history. The whole system of justice was called into question.

The legal establishment considered this as a challenge to its authority and reacted on the whole severely. Some judges made no attempt to conceal their anger towards the rebellious young left-wingers and occasionally used their powers as a weapon. Eighteen months' imprisonment was the highest sentence passed on any one of the Easter demonstrators. Many of the Nazi murderers who had caused the deaths of hundreds of persons by issuing or passing on orders escaped with prison sentences of four or five years during the mid-sixties as they were merely tried for complicity to murder.

The amnesty for persons sentenced for taking part in violent demonstrations and the reform of the laws under which they were convicted prevented the law from losing face completely.

But this also interrupted the rethinking process within the legal system about its role in political cases. The younger generation of judges at least were beginning to think of these problems.

The legal system is still largely insecure in this contradictory situation involving a clash between stubborn resistance to change and the willingness to accept reform.

Unfortunately it is facing a second wave of political cases of far greater significance than those following the Easter demonstrations. The members of the anarchist Baader-Meinhof group are now to be put on trial.

Some of these cases have already come before the courts, often with dismal results. The second round of proceedings against anarchist lawyer Horst Mahler was a near-disaster. The first judge to head proceedings collapsed and his successor only brought the case to a conclusion by means of inconclusive circstantial evidence. Mahler was sentenced to twelve years for being a ringleader of the gang and for armed robbery. Four other cases against members of the group or their accomplices recently opened in three different cities – Berlin, Munich and Sindlingen, near Frankfurt. However, no charge has so far been made against three of the main members of the group – Ulrike Meinhof, Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin.

The length of these proceedings reveals the major problem faced in all these cases and probably in all those yet to come – the lack of evidence. Apart from Karl Heinz Ruhland, whose credibility as a prosecution witness has now been shaken, no member of the group has testified. In fact they have not needed to as the risk of implicating themselves provides all of them with adequate grounds for refusal.

The fact that preventive sentences have already been passed in order to force members of the group to testify reveals the danger threatening the administration of justice to a particular extent in political cases. The more difficult the case is and the more the public is convinced of the guilt of the accused, the greater temptation there is not to pay such painstaking attention to legal procedure and the credibility of the evidence.

This is a subconscious process which is given additional impetus by the conduct of the accused. They provoke their prosecutors and judges incessantly, and they stubbornly refuse to contribute more to proceedings than political tirades and delaying tactics.

One source of misjudgement in the Baader-Meinhof trials, one that has been unknown in past legal history, comes from a quarter that nobody would have expected – the defence.

Some of the lawyers taking part in the trial defend both the revolutionaries and the principle of revolution they put forward! These defending counsels do their duty by demanding that the offences of which their clients are accused should be conclusively proved, but when it comes to the punch they feel that this evidence is irrelevant.

Even if evidence is forthcoming, they regard the offence as an act of resistance towards the system of "class rule and oppression" currently prevailing in the Federal Republic.

Existing laws, even those of a non-political nature like those against fraud, larceny or the illegal possession of weapons, only serve "exploitation in the form of legal precepts and prohibitions".

These quotations are taken from official statements by the defence counsels and there are more indications of their total identification with their clients.

Lawyers subject themselves to the rules of a system that in their view only exists to create injustice. In their view too, they are helping to do injustice to their clients as defending counsels can only form part of this charade.

But this argument exposes the Baader-Meinhof group's lawyers to the charge that they are concerned not with defending their clients but with turning them into martyrs.

No more evil perversion of the role of defending cousel can be imagined as long as we attach special importance to the establishment of truth and justice in the legal system.

But the judges in charge of the Baader-Meinhof cases must learn to tolerate this as they are unable to debar defence counsel even in the event of a serious violation of his duties.

The courts must not allow themselves to be diverted from the course of their duty as a result. They must allow adequate room for doubts in favour of the accused and against the fanaticism of revolutionaries and defending counsels who do not want justice.

Hans Schueler

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 October 1973)

Female judge



Ursula Dreisbach, 25, has been appointed a judge at the Hagen regional court, making her this country's youngest presiding magistrate. She is the daughter of a Dortmund crime squad official and since 1971 has been married to the youngest lawyer in this country.

(Photo: AP)

Crucifix verdict upheld by Basic Law

Many people will look upon the Federal Constitutional Court's "crucifix verdict" as a further example of the way Western traditions are slowly being eroded in public life.

But the Constitutional Court's ruling that people cannot be forced to attend a court of law with a crucifix on the wall is no more and no less than a consistent interpretation of Basic Law, the Federal Republic's constitution.

Many will find it remarkable that no such verdict was reached before 1973. But the only persons to remain speechless are those who do not realise that the State's obligation to remain neutral in questions of religion has often been violated in practice.

German law, especially the civil code and rulings on such factors as matrimony, has always been determined by pronounced Christian ideas. And the oath spoken in a court of law still runs: "I swear by Almighty God . . ." The crucifix in the court-room has a symbolic value even though few people notice it. But the Constitutional Court judges did not regard this as a good argument. They remedied a state of affairs running counter to the constitution and cannot be accused of being iconoclasts.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 October 1973)

Policeman's lot is not a happy one

Only one policeman in three in North Rhine-Westphalia would join the force again, given the choice, according to a survey conducted by a ginger group within the Police Trade Union.

Seventy per cent of those who would join the force again claimed they found their work interesting. A further fifteen per cent said they did not regret joining the force because of the security the job offered.

Fifty-eight per cent of those who would not join the force again had become policemen for idealistic reasons. Twenty-one per cent stated that no other choice of profession presented itself at the time. Ninety-three per cent of this group and 55 per cent of those who were satisfied in their job listed the disadvantages of working for the police force as too little responsibility, poor staff conditions and excessive authoritarianism.

(Die Welt, 18 October 1973)

All sides agree Penal Code is in need of reform

Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn has submitted to the Bundestag a penal reform bill to remedy a long-recognised shortcoming in the administration of the penal code.

There is in the first place an urgent need of placing the administration of the penal system on a standardised legal basis throughout the Federal Republic. Up to now there have only been regulations issued by the respective authorities and these have been inadequate and uncertain.

Equally important and necessary is a reform that does not regard penal servitude as revenge or as penance for breaches of the law but as a genuine chance for the offender to be rehabilitated in society after his release. A modern penal system which grants prisoners fourteen days' parole a year and allows them to work outside the prison buildings has nothing to do with "being soft on convicts" or "allowing your feelings to run away with you".

Allowing prisoners to establish contact with life outside is the most suitable method of preventing law-breakers from returning to old ways after their release. Pioneer schemes of this sort have been encouraging.

Under the normal system of penal servitude seventy to eighty per cent of prisoners commit fresh crimes after their release. This extremely high proportion is due not least to the inadequate and archaic penal system which confirms convicts in their belief of belonging to a group that wants nothing to do with society and which therefore regards itself as an enemy of society.

Society has a right to be protected against criminals, including those who commit fresh crimes on leaving prison. But this also means society must realise that preventing and fighting crime cannot consist merely of locking up law-breakers and leaving them to their fate. Only a small proportion of criminals are dangerous. These persons must be kept in safe custody even if it means keeping them segregated from society after their sentence has been served.

But, in the interests of society itself, none of the others should be refused the chance of rehabilitation. This means that after they are sent to prison they must not be allowed to vegetate in a world in which they lose all contact with everyday life The penal reform bill now before the Bundestag is an important step towards this aim. The only regret is that important reform proposals such as a fair wage for prisoners' work cannot be put into effect for lack of money.

If prisoners were given a fair wage for their work they would be able to pay the costs of their imprisonment and help maintain their families, taking a burden off the shoulders of the State and the social insurance system which often has to contribute to the upkeep of prisoners' families. A more important aspect is that the prisoner would be given responsibility to prepare him for life outside.

One welcome feature is that the basic idea behind penal reform – rehabilitation – is not a subject of controversy in the Bundestag. It can only be hoped that a number of reform proposals which have not been given sufficient attention could be incorporated into the Bill during committee stage.

Werner Neumann

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 20 October 1973)

■ COMMON MARKET

EEC and Third World States try again to reach agreement

The second attempt to get negotiations going between the European Community and the nineteen original associates, as well as 20 to 23 developing countries invited to apply for associate membership for a new system of contracts that would come into effect from the beginning of 1975 has recently been made amid many Ifs and Buts.

The Council of Ministers of the EEC has given several directives concerning the course of these negotiations. But they are still as vague with regard to the decisive factors as they were at the previous conference of ministers at the end of July. Thus it is hardly to be expected that the replies by spokesmen for the roughly forty African, Caribbean and Pacific countries will be any more cordial on this occasion than the polite but fim No to the Community's suggestions on 25 July, which criticised these as being inadequate.

Now the decisive question is whether the thirty African States, which are the EEC's main concern, will base their answer on the same kind of self-assured firmness as before. This time Africa is represented not by a Nigerian Minister but a State Commissioner from the Republic of Zaïre.

We shall see whether the attempts to divide the Africans into two camps succeeds. On the one hand there are old associate members, mainly French-speaking and on the other the British Commonwealth countries, which along with Britain were invited to take part in a new round of talks on associate membership according to protocol 22 of the entry agreement.

Confirmation of regional, and thus political, differentiation between African States in dealings with Europe would be fateful. If Europe has to bear the burden taken over from individual member States which apportioned the African continent according to linguistic zones it is essential that the Commonwealth countries should be treated equally now that Britain is an EEC member.

One differentiation that can be made within the scope of future contracts is with regard to the degree of development of the States in question. Eight of the original associate members and eleven that now qualify for association are in the league of 25 least-developed countries. On the other hand one State that could become an associate is The Bahamas with a higher per capita income than the EEC full member Eire.

Where the biggest bone of contention at the conference is concerned, namely "counter-preferences", mutual customs and trade concessions and the system of "stabilisation of export yield", this differentiation between lesser and more-developed countries should be more marked than has been the case in the past.

It is not coincidental that in both cases France has placed its chips on the more highly developed countries, since these are French-speaking. They are capable of bearing "counter-preferences". And they are the countries that would benefit the most from the stabilisation schemes for sugar, peanuts, cocoa, coffee, bananas and copper.

As far as the poorest nations are concerned their foreign trade at the moment is confined largely to swaps with near neighbours.

Paris has not found any allies at the Council of Ministers for its counter-preferences proposals. Bonn and London have formally announced their renunciation of this kind of action.

The General-Secretary of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) Mr Perez-Guerrero underlined in Brussels once again that developing countries want aid from industrialised nations without being forced to make counter-preferences.

The summit conference of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa in May put the principle of non-reciprocity of Community customs and trade preferences at the head of its programme for the discussions in Brussels.

At discussions on the Council of Ministers about a stabilisation fund for export yields on raw materials agreement has been reached not to use this terminology. At the moment the talk is of "guarantees against the effects of bad

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years". This is not to say that by means of an automatic mechanism closely linked with the product a bottomless barrel will be created, and with an ever-increasing need for finances import levies will have to be imposed – in other words a system approximating closely to the Community agriculture policy. This is not to say that as far as the main sufferers are concerned nothing can be done about a new development fund within the scope of the overall financial aid to close the gap in bad years.

In July the Africans asked that financial aid of this kind should not be made dependent on contractual arrangements. At this new round of discussions it is essential for them to explain what they meant by this demand and how they wish to see the two tied together.

Carl A. Ehrhardt

(Handelsblatt, 18 October 1973)

European Idea is in peril

Is the European Idea dead? Those who follow the scene in Brussels closely may occasionally fear for the future of the Community. After the communal horror of World War II the founding of the EEC was greeted with high hopes. But today the Community seems bogged down in the sands of bureaucracy.

Neither the last two summit conferences nor the expansion of the Community to nine members have managed to give back the spark to the Community that was set during the heady days of 1952 when it all started.

As an institution the EEC may have made progress, there may be joint customs arrangements and farm-produce prices; trade among the partners may have increased many times over. But the individual feels little of the sense of being a European.

Apart from the continuing annoyance of border checks between Community countries – abolition of them would give a great booster to the idea of Europeanness – the consumer and taxpayer in Europe finds himself faced with anonymous powers-that-be.

The "power" that no one controls is the Council of Ministers. Its decisions have a direct effect in all members countries. But the European Parliament has no right of intervention.

However, the work of the Council of Ministers is increasingly being paralyzed by the mutual right of veto. Important problems are being laid aside as a result.

So it is no wonder that people and organisations that care about the future of Europe are demanding a tougher European policy, democratisation of the Council of Ministers and strengthening of the European Parliament. The European Idea is not yet dead. But it is endangered.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 17 October 1973)

Chicanery gets European Community into Europe security talks

With equal energy, but for differing reasons, the Soviet Union and Rumania protested at the participation of representatives of the European Commission at the sub-committee deliberations of the "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe".

Under the leadership of Roland der Kergolay, deputy General-Director for foreign relations on the EEC Commission, three Brussels Eurocrats took their place as members of the Danish delegation at the negotiating table in Geneva at the end of September.

Foreign Ministers of the Nine had agreed at their conference in Copenhagen that the Community officials should speak up whenever the Conference got on to the subject of trade and economic cooperation. These are matters on which EEC countries have relinquished their responsibility in favour of the Community bodies.

Bonn Foreign Minister Walter Scheel explained how the Nine plan to overcome the difficulties involved in participation of delegates of the European Commission at a conference of States.

He said that a representative of the Council of Ministers would say at the conference: We have brought a gentleman from Brussels competent to speak on this subject . . .

This piece of diplomatic trickery was described by the heads of the delegations from the USSR and Rumania as "provocation" the first time it was tried out.

The representatives of the European Commission on the sub-committee stated that:

- The Community considers trade to be a basic element in the economic growth of Europe,
- The breaking-down of trade barriers between East and West must be completed, not forgetting that the two sides have differing economic and social systems,
- The principle of advantages' and liabilities' being mutual must be applied in the development of European trade.

It was not the content of the Eurocats' statement, that displeased the Soviet Union, but the fact that the EEC was represented at this conference. Backed up by its Eastern Europrsn partners the Soviet Union demanded that at future meetings Western Europe should refrain from putting forward the opinions of the European Commission.

The Nine rejected this demand, and refused to be swerved by the intervention of the Rumanians, who pointed out that the presence of the European Commission could lead the Russians to call for the participation of Comecon in future.

In September when the Council of Ministers met in Brussels to ponder over its reply to Comecon General Secretary Fadeyev, who has offered to hold talks with the acting President of the Council of Ministers, Danish Foreign Minister Nörgaard, the Community acted with greater caution.

The positive but procrastinating attitude that was communicated to the Comecon General Secretariat in Moscow via the Danish Embassy showed a basic wish to hold talks, but no specific progress.

Brussels' delaying was motivated by the wish to avoid anything in the East-West dialogue that might open the door to a trade-policy "Brezhnev Doctrine", according to a member of the West German delegation. For while the EEC countries have passed responsibility for foreign trade to the Community Comecon has no such such responsibilities. Discussions with Comecon headquarters cannot take the place of discussions with the governments of Comecon countries, according to informed sources in Brussels.

The Commission has now taken a step in the complicated matter of who-decides-what to sort out the state of affairs in its own camp. In a memo to the Council of Ministers it issued an admonition about the damaging consequences for joint trade policies of the agreement on cooperating with Eastern European countries.

The Council proposed instead for future East-West treaties to be preceded by consultations at the Council of Ministers. We do not yet know whether governments will renounce this vestige of sovereignty in the sphere of foreign trade that has been left to them.

Hans-Hagen Bremer

(Die Zeit, 19 October 1973)

Foreign labour is vital

The number of migrant workers – known as guest workers – in Europe is estimated to be nine million. When non-employed dependents are taken into account the number of "guests" in Europe is fourteen million. Every sixteenth working person is a foreigner. Put another way, the number of foreign workers in the European Community is higher than the number of Belgians, Dutch, Danes and Luxemburgers.

In the Federal Republic they are ten per cent of the work force, in France 9.7 per cent, in Belgium seven per cent. We should be clear in our minds that whole industries would have to cease production if the foreign labour force were to decamp en masse.

Economic growth and its benefits are there for all. But the other side of the coin is that foreign workers are at the bottom of the ladder and have little opportunity to get to the top. Industry cannot do without them – society does not want to know about them. Too few people realise that foreign workers coming to Europe not only improve their lot by obtaining work, but that of the Europeans by doing their jobs as well.

(Welt der Arbeit, 19 October 1973)

■ FOREIGN TRADE

End of 22 years of trade surpluses could be around the corner

The development of foreign trade has brought some surprising results in recent years and particularly in the current year. Despite what the economics primers say the four up-valuations of the Mark in October 1969, December 1971 and March and June 1973 have not had the results that are expected of changes to parity.

Surpluses in foreign trade dealings were not cut, but reached record levels. In 1972 the balance of payments surplus was 20,300 million Marks, a level that had never been achieved before, and which was anything but welcome. A profit on the foreign trade balance sheet means a surplus of money on the home market, resulting in increased demand and price rises.

At the time of writing the record set up in the twelve months of 1972 has already been beaten this year. By the end of August the surplus had exceeded nineteen milliard Marks. Some prognoses said that the profit this year on foreign trade would be thirty milliard Marks. This is not now possible, but the final figure should be between 26 and 27 milliard. Thus, paradoxically, the year that has brought two revaluations of the Mark will end with the largest ever balance of trade surplus in German history.

Is the Federal Republic condemned to be the eternal profit-maker in foreign trade? One has to look back to 1951 to find the last deficit. The exports rate is rising more sharply this year than it did in the record year 1972.

In August 1973, the last month covered by statistics, a record monthly surplus of 3,200 million Marks was notched up. Despite the Mark's becoming more expensive the flood of orders from abroad goes on unabated. The question is, does the structure of the West German economy prevent a downturn in the graph of foreign trade to a more acceptable level or even a deficit? Is this no longer possible?

Against the background of the long-term development and the economic situation assumptions of this kind can be seen to be false. Export surpluses of the present level are by no means an unavoidable occurrence. In 1955 and 1965 the export surplus was reduced to a minimal level. The net position on goods and services and the transfer of capital likewise showed the end of one phase and beginning of another in dealings with overseas. In the transfer of capital the symptoms of a change in the trend were marked before it became clear in the balance of trade, which showed a large plus shortly before the decline of 1955 and even more rapid decline of 1965.

Once again capital transfer shows the possibility that the tide is about to turn. A caesura in foreign trade may come next year or the year after, judging by the experience of the past. The government's economic stabilisation policy and the revaluations of 1973 could help speed up this process.

On account of the limited scope of the home market and growing competition industry is turning its attention to other countries. But overseas West German companies can only hope to make profits if they increase turnover and cut prices, since the strength of the Mark has made their goods so expensive.

The development of prices in other countries is an indication of the great pressure of competition on export markets. Between January and July this year the price of West German goods on foreign markets went up by an average of only 0.5 per cent.

With the expansion of the export drive the time comes when there is no further room for growth. This boundary should soon be reached.

Moreover it is quite on the cards that this country's exporters will not be able to fulfil all their plans, since the economic situation in countries that buy from the Federal Republic is leading to a general slackening off of demand. For the first time the economic situation in the major industrial countries of the Western world is running parallel.

While exporters were able to increase their overseas sales this year importers showed greater reservations. The increase in exports in the first eight months of this year was twenty per cent – not matched by imports which increased by only fourteen per cent. One reason for this is the high price of foreign produce, which was on average four per cent higher than comparable prices in this country until May when the March revaluation began to take effect. Even then importers remained hesitant.

The room for manoeuvre for sales increases in the retail trade could not be calculated because of the unpredictable effects of the government's stabilisation programme. In recent years traders have left generous margins for error – which were underlined by the masses of goods on offer at autumn and spring sales, but

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this time much more careful orders have been placed. Raw material importers have also shown caution, since they wanted to await the end of the boom in raw materials which has been pushing up prices in recent weeks.

In 1974 the pre-conditions for an increase in imports will be better. June's up-valuation of the Mark has lowered prices of imports even further and has probably already led to larger orders being placed overseas. By next spring traders should be in a position to get a much better picture of sales potential. And the results of the rounds of wage and salary negotiations will have an effect on their calculations.

Many forecasts suggest that the swing will come by next year. But developments will depend on the measures taken in other countries to ward off the effects of a weakening of the economy. So it is not Bonn alone that will decide whether this country is to run up more massive balance of payments surpluses.

Jürgen Forster

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 October 1973)

The Mark is still king but . . .

A good reputation is obviously as hard to shake off as a bad one. This is something the Mark has experienced for the past fifteen years. With only short pauses for breath in between the Mark has been racing from one revaluation to the next.

Up-valuations of the currency have proved no more effective in the long term than the recent agreement to join either EEC countries in a joint floatation against the dollar.

Other countries are obviously still wild with enthusiasm about the Federal Republic's export surpluses. In the first eight months of this year the balance of payments surplus soared to an incredible 19,030 million Marks. This has more than doubled in the past two years from 9,630 million Marks. And the boom in exports as compared with imports has come about despite repeated changes in parity and rising costs that have pushed up the price of Federal Republic produce.

Inflation is even worse in the countries with which this country trades. But how long will this be the case? Recently Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs expressed some doubt. And Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt has not ruled out the possibility that the Mark could be devalued.

A glance at the balance of payments shows that this is not just idle gossip. Let us take a hypothetical case. Supposing the export record for January to August remained the same as in the previous year. Then the expenditure on service industries and losses on monetary transfers (remissions back home by foreign workers, reparations and payments to the European Communities) would have created a loss in the so-called net position on goods and services of no less than 4,820 million Marks, and for the first time the glowing reputation of the Mark would have come under something of a cloud. There is no way in which such expenditure can be avoided – not for the moment at any rate.

And what would happen if the boom in demand in countries that buy from the Federal Republic were to wane? This country has already had a taste of how little reliance can be placed on other factors in the balance of payments such as capital transfer – this came after the revaluation of 1969.

Within a matter of weeks thousands of millions flooded back overseas as the likelihood of further strengthening of the Mark receded. Thus the massive currency reserves in this country proved to be scarcely more than a loan for an indeterminate period.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 October 1973)

A silver lining – but still plenty of cloud

Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs can hardly believe his luck. For the first time in several months the rate of price increases has dipped below seven per cent. According to the latest calculations prices this September were up by just 6.5 per cent as compared with last year.

The rate of inflation reached its highest level around mid-year with an increase of eight per cent in prices, the highest ever in the history of the Federal Republic.

Yet the rise of 6.5 per cent, now greeted as a silver lining to the cloud, would have been viewed as a catastrophe only a few years ago. But this is not the only reason that Bonn is hesitating to praise this figure to the skies as a sign of the success of its anti-inflation policy.

In the two previous months the inflation rate had been stabilised at 7.2 per cent, but in these three months the reason for the slackening off the inflationary spiral has largely been the effect of those products whose price fluctuates with the season.

Rarely have we known such uncertainty about the way the economy is likely to go in the future. Each month new exports records are reported, even though the Mark has become extremely expensive.

But no one dares to prophesy what will happen if the keenness of foreigners for West German produce ever slackens off.

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Nor is anyone sure that the trades unions will not set the inflation rate spiralling again as a result of growing social tensions and high wage demands.

The unions are showing considerable caution, despite the tough words we have heard from some of their leading officials of late. For they too cannot be interested in seeing prices soar once again.

Eugen Loderer, the Chairman of the Metalworkers Union, stresses that his organisation does not use the strike weapon lightly.

Quite apart from the fact that every strike must be preceded by a complicated procedure according to the IG Metall statute it has been more difficult than usual this time to make it clear to the workers what they should be fighting for. For they are not only trying to achieve fatter pay packets, but first and foremost better working conditions.

Most of the demands, however, – such as guarantees for older workers, rules for working on conveyer belts and work breaks – have already been accepted by the employers.

However the bosses have refused to give way over the demand for a guaranteed 130 per cent of normal pay for all pieceworkers. Firstly they view this as diverging from the time-honoured principle that pieceworkers should be paid according to productivity. And apart from that they fear that agreeing to this demand would mean a drop in productivity and increased tension on the factory floor as fast workers fail to earn much more than their slower colleagues.

But IG Metall calls this demand the first step along the road to great social justice and less productivity consciousness. But the union will not have an easy time convincing its members and the public of why it should use the strike weapon to achieve this goal alone.

But a factory floor squabble is not the best of circumstances for achieving a settling down of prices. The chance of beating inflation – however slender it may appear to be – should not be frittered away.

If the rate of inflation begins to soar again in the next few months workers will want to make sure that their share of the GNP is secured, even if they have to take autonomous action. Wildcat strikes, spontaneous downing of tools by dustmen and airline staffs, have been the first taste of things to come.

Therefore we must be clear about one thing: If there is no improvement in the prices situation in the next few months the prospects for a return to stability are not good, at least not on any terms that are acceptable to the nation. The only way to save the Mark then will be large-scale unemployment and an economic crisis.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 16 October 1973)

■ ENERGY

Bonn and Teheran get together over oil and natural gas

In recent weeks there has been a German invasion of Iran. Never before have so many industrialists and officials from the Federal Republic presented their credentials at the Imperial court of the Shah of Iran.

After a tête-à-tête with the Shah himself Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs held a press conference at the Teheran Hilton to give the go-ahead *for large-scale industrial cooperation.* "Federal Republic firms can now get to work," he announced.

Oil in exchange for investment is the bargain the two countries have struck. It is a bargain that will involve transactions worth thousands of millions of Marks. The Shah would like to develop Iranian industry with German assistance while Bonn, faced with the prospect of fuel and power problems, hopes that Iranian oil will continue to flow whatever crises may arise. "Iran," to quote Kurt Hansen, managing director of Bayer Chemicals, who was in Teheran at the same times as the Ministers, "has enough petroleum for thirty or forty years and thus sufficient money to develop the industry from which its people will subsequently be able to earn a living."

Tactlessness on this country's part and sensitivity on the Iranian side are to blame for two countries with such complementary interests failing to reach agreement until now.

The Persians were particularly taken aback by President Heinemann's refusal to attend the ceremony in Persepolis to mark the 2,500th anniversary of the establishment of the Persian Empire in October 1971.

This cut came at a time when the Shah was still *smarting* under the insult he felt had been paid him four years beforehand in West Berlin where student demonstrators had welcomed him with a free-for-all.

Not until Chancellor Brandt's visit to Iran in March last year was the dialogue between the two countries resumed to any great extent. It will be recalled that the visit was welcomed at the time by industrial opinion in this country.

In talks with the Chancellor Iranian Premier Hoveyda was frank about his interest in investment by Federal Republic industry. "My government," he stated, "would be only too happy if German technology, German investment and German know-how were to be ploughed into Iran. Both countries would stand to benefit."

Chancellor Brandt took up the Prime Minister's offer and replied that VEBA, a Federal Republic conglomerate in which the Bonn government has a forty-per-cent holding, was willing to negotiate on a specific project with the National Iranian Oil Company.

This specific project, to use the none too specific phrase incorporated in the official communiqué, has since taken clearer shape. On the basis of plans drawn up by Fluor, a US engineering firm, Thyssen are to build a refinery probably located in the Persian Gulf and capable of handling 25,000 tons of crude oil a year.

The refinery will cost between 700 and 800 million dollars to construct and the Iranians propose to raise half this sum on the Eurodollar market and the other half in the form of a tied loan from the US Export-Import Bank.

Iran plans to pay for the refinery in the finished, in this case refined, product. This country will be guaranteed supplies of refined petroleum at market prices for between fifteen and twenty years. Under the terms of a preliminary agreement three potential customers in this country, VEBA, Gelsenberg and UK Wesseling, have undertaken to investigate the project. For German firms this mammoth refinery (its largest counterpart in this country has a maximum annual capacity of 10,000 tons) has distinct advantages. Building-land and labour are far cheaper there than here and there is little likelihood of objections by either the general public or local authorities. "People here would be up in arms at the mere suggestion of any such project," says Thyssen director Helmut Gschwend.

In part, of course, the saving will be offset by the freight costs. Unlike crude oil, which can be shipped in supertankers relatively inexpensively, refinery products can only be shipped in smaller vessels.

Heavy heating oil, moreover, must be continually heated en route otherwise it solidifies into a lump, and shipping petrol is a tricky business because of the explosion risk in any conditions.

Iranian oil destined for this country will thus merely be desulphurised and shipped to the Federal Republic by supertanker for further treatment in local refineries. In my view, says Heinrich Reinert, a board member of VEBA's chemicals division, this is the most inexpensive way of going about it.

In the course of his soundings in Teheran Economic Affairs Minister Friderichs came a cross a further source of energy, the natural gas reserves in the South of the country that Iranian experts reckon are good for another century and which Bonn would also like to tap.

Ruhrgas of Essen are currently negotiating with Persian specialists about the best means of shipment. Gas could first be piped to Turkey along a 600-mile pipeline and there liquefied and shipped by tanker to Monfalcone, near Trieste, the projected terminal for liquefied natural gas. From Italy it would be piped in the form of gas along the projected pipeline across the Alps to southern Germany.

A more promising possibility, or so it is felt, would be to do a three-cornered deal with the Soviet Union and utilise the Soviet pipeline network. Iranian natural gas would be piped to the Soviet Union, which would supply this country with Soviet natural gas via the Comecon pipeline grid. Yet another option would be to build a pipeline through Turkey, Yugoslavia and Austria.

In order to discourage the other side from cutting off supplies in time of crisis Bonn would welcome Iranian investment in this country. One proposal is for NIOC participation in the VEBA refinery in Emden recently taken over by Gulf and in the projected large-scale refinery at Brunsbüttelkoog in the Elbe estuary at the North Sea end of the Kiel Canal.

The National Iranian Oil Company might also buy itself into VEBA's network of petrol outlets, which has numbered some 1,300 since the take-over of Frisia filling-stations, or purchase a stake in VEBA's tanker fleet.

Herr Friderichs, accompanied by a number of fuel and power specialists from his Ministry, called on the Shah at an extremely favourable moment. Never have industrial interests in this country been more keenly interested in investing in Iran than at present.

During the Minister's visit Baden-Baden steel outsider Willi Korf reached agreement with the Persians on the construction of three ore-processing plants that will handle 1,200,000 tons of sponge iron, which is then used in steel production.

Demag are associated with a project of similar size, having constructed, since 1965, a steel rolling mill complex with an annual capacity of half a million tons twelve miles south of Aberdan. With further assistance from the Duisburg firm Iranian Rolling Mills are to double production over the next few years.

Next year Demag will hand over a tube rolling mill with a capacity of 120,000 tons of seamless tubing per annum.

Thyssen too are engaged in negotiations about the construction of a steelworks. By 1980, the Shah hopes, Iran will reach a domestic steel production level of eight million tons a year. The current level is a little over 1,200,000 tons.

"I know of no country that has developed so rapidly in recent years, excepting Japan," says Helmut Gschwend, who knows his Iran.

Bayer joined forces with the Iranians in the fifties to construct a chemical fibre works. Production is to be doubled at a capital investment cost of 100 million dollars. Dynamit-Nobel, a chemicals subsidiary to the Flick conglomerate, are also to invest in Iran, and Krupp's plan to join forces with the Iranians in setting up an engineering firm and several cement works.

Herr Friderichs promised his opposite numbers in Teheran to jog prospective Federal Republic investors in Iran to make up their minds a little more swiftly on his return to this country.

Free Democrat Friderichs was unable to provide further evidence of his government's willingness to cooperate with Iran, however, as the Federal government has still to approve of the merger of VEBA and Gelsenberg, a combination that would represent a Federal Republic oil company capable of comparison with international competitors. The merger is still in the offing, but Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt as yet refuses to foot the bill of at least 700 million Marks of the taxpayers' money that the merger will cost.

Hans Otto Eglau
(Die Zeit, 19 October 1973)

Plans to supply Iranian natural gas are progressing satisfactorily

Plans to buy natural gas from Iran are taking firmer shape. Iranian Premier Hoveyda recently stated that his government was interested in exporting large quantities of natural gas to Western Europe, particularly the Federal Republic, France and Italy, at the earliest opportunity.

The amount under consideration is in the order of 30,000 million cubic metres per annum, and for this country Ruhrgas of Essen have expressed willingness to come to terms with the National Iranian Gas Corporation, handing over a letter of intent dated 10 September 1973.

The visit paid to Teheran by Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs has evidently led to a desire on Persia's part for a swift conclusion to negotiations, though as yet there is no indication when an agreement will finally be signed.

A number of issues remain to be clarified, in particular the way in which the gas is to be shipped from Iran to this country. Four options are under consideration:

The first would be a pipeline via the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to Bavaria and this country. The second would be to pipe the gas to a Turkish Black Sea or Mediterranean port where it would be liquefied for shipment by special tanker or to the proposed natural gas terminal at Monfalcone, near Trieste, where it would be fed into the Western European grid.

The third option would be to build a pipeline from Iran to this country via Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy and Austria. Last but not least, a three-cornered agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union for Iranian natural gas to be piped to Russia and a corresponding amount of Soviet natural gas to be piped via the Comecon grid to this country.

Crude oil suppliers to West Germany in 1972

Total 102.6 mill. tons

Arab countries: Libya 28.4, Saudi Arabia 19.1, Algeria 11.4, Gulf States 6.4, Kuwait 4.4, Remainder 4.6; Nigeria 10.9; Iran 9.8; Venezuela etc. 7.6

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Ruhrgas are currently costing these four alternatives and it is not yet clear which stands to be selected. The construction of a pipeline through the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to this country may well prove the least expensive, but would involve 1,200 miles of pipeline on Soviet territory and a heightened security risk in the event of political crisis.

On the other hand the construction of a pipeline through the Balkans to the Italian frontier would prove problematic, not least because the pipeline would need to be serviced by qualified staff in all three countries, none of which have experience with pipelines at present, yet all three of which would doubtless like to tap the pipeline for their own national grids.

Liquefaction of piped gas in a Turkish port and shipment to an Italian terminal wuld involve expenditure that cannot as yet even be estimated, but there is a strong likelihood that the solution eventually adopted will be a combination of the various options.

One possibility would be to transport ten million cubic metres of natural gas per annum in the form of a deal with the Soviet Union and either to pipe the remainder through the Balkans or to ship it to Trieste in methane tankers from the Turkish coast.

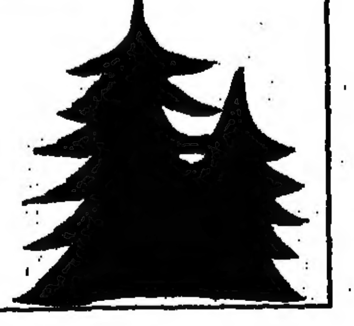
"Where business is concerned we have no political misgivings," Iranian Prime Minister Hoveyda is reported as saying at a press conference. He is thus not prepared to indicate which of the methods of shipment Teheran considers most appropriate.

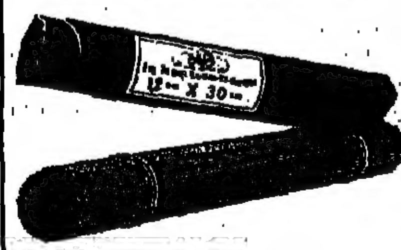
Whatever the outcome, Iran would have to build some 600 miles of pipeline from the strike area to either the Soviet or the Turkish frontiers.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 October 1973)











PUBLISHING

The ups and downs of looking for a best-seller

Three thousand eight hundred publishers presented some quarter of a million books at this year's Frankfurt Book Fair. Seventy-nine thousand of them were new publications but few will ever be successful.

Even those books which have the benefit of extensive advertising are not certain of achieving a place on the best-seller lists – or even reaching high sales figures.

Success cannot be bought with money or clever advertising. Many books or series in which publishers place their hopes – and invest a good deal of money – have to be sold off cheaply in the end, sometimes as waste paper!

A good example of a publisher's mistake are the memoirs of Stalin's daughter, Svetlana. Her *Twenty Letters to a Friend* turned out to be the dearest pig in a poke ever bought.

Vienna publisher Fritz Molden bought the rights to the book in the face of fierce competition for the princely sum of 810,000 Marks – without reading a line of it beforehand.

But Svetlana's revelations were anything but sensational and despite extensive advertising only 92.000 people decided to buy the book. The rights therefore cost 8.80 Marks a book!

Like all publishers fighting for a place on the best-seller lists, Molden has had

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more than one flop in the past. Among recent worst-sellers is *Boy or Girl? Determine the Sex of Your Child*.

The book, by American writers Rorvik and Shettles, outlined a complicated system of nutritional, behavioural, sexual and other rules which, if adhered to correctly, would lead to the birht of the long-awaited male – or female – heir.

In an age of birth control, Molden thought, an instruction book of this type should sell anything up to a quarter of a million copies. Thirty thousand copies were printed to cater for the initial rush. Despite extensive advertising and a splendid write up in *Jasmin*, then still the "periodical for people who live together", only 2,400 copies were sold.

Bestsellers, it has been found, cannot be made to order, not even with the most extensive advertising. Advertising can only make a successful book even more successful, it can encourage sales figures but it cannot achieve success on its own.

Gert Frederking, Molden's distribution manager in the Federal Republic, names four other conditions that have to be met before a book is successful: quality or what the purchaser considers to be quality, identification with the spirit of the age or contemporary problems, the image and popularity of the author and appropriate public relations work.

German publishing history is full of examples where one or more of these ingredients were later found to be lacking.

Willy Droemer, who introduced best-seller advertising to the Federal Republic with his campaign to launch Mary McCarthy's *The Group* in 1964, has been able to repeat his success many times since but even this publishing company is not immune to failure.

One hundred thousand copies of both Irving Stone's Freud novel and Norman Mailer's report on the American Apollo programme were printed. The two works only attracted forty thousand and seventeen thousand purchasers respectisevely.

Rowohlt planned an equally expensive advertising campaign for Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs until their authenticity was loudly questioned from various quarters. For this reason, or because the memoirs of politically dead contemporaries are less attractive, only 29 copies were sold out of the first printing of fifty thousand.

The popularity of a stage or screen star is no guarantee for literary success as proved by the recent bestsellers by Hildegard Knef and Elisabeth Flickenschildt and the failure of Charly Chaplin, Charles Aznavour and one-time German film-star Heinz Rühmann.

Series are not immune to immediate or long-term failure either. The series was discovered at the beginning of the sixties as a good method of selling books and as they soon assumed the character of a brand name they were looked upon as a solution to all ills.

But the laws governing series have changed as much as the system of supply and demand on the rest of the book market. The most recent statement announcing the demise of one of these series came from the S. Fischer publishing company, Frankfurt. When the fortieth volume of the *Conditio Humana* series is published next year, it will be wound up. The series was launched in 1968 amidst a glare of publicity.

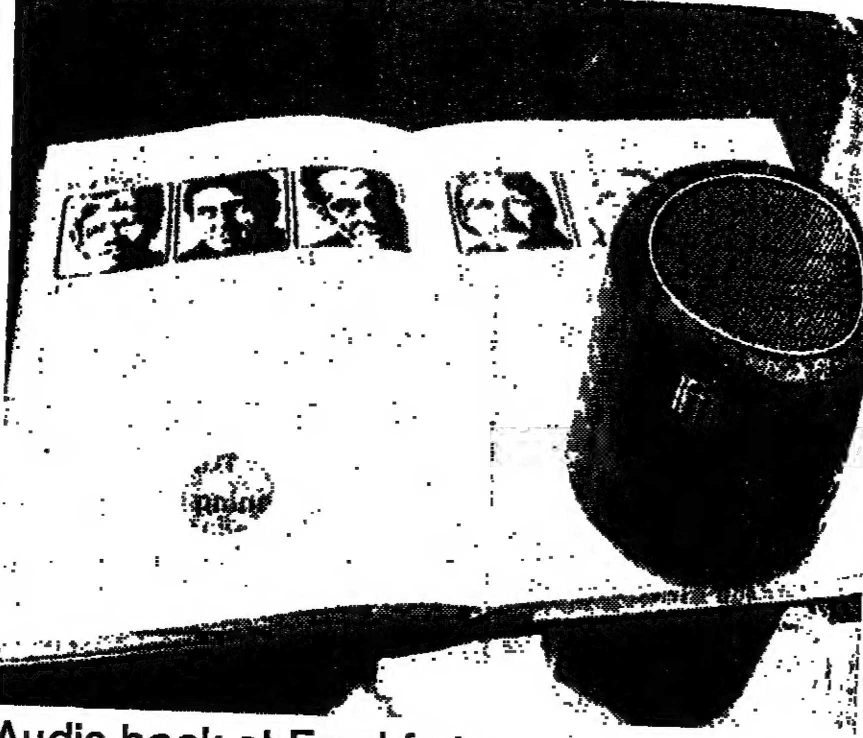
A number of publishing companies have failed in their attempts to make modern literature by as yet unknown writers successful by including them in one of their series.

Among the failures in this sector are Hanser's *Prosa viva*, now only called *Prosa mortua* within the firm, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt's *Standpunkte*, Fischer's *Doppelpunkt* and Suhrkamp's *eins*.

Publishing companies did not start finding purchasers for these series until they combined literature and theoretical or academic texts. Two series – *edition Suhrkamp* and *Reihe Hanser* – proves that this combination is just what the younger generation today want.

Hoffmann and Campe's series *Jahr und Jahrgang* provides a good example for the limits imposed on marketing in the book trade. The series, in which writers outline the events of a given year and the destiny of people born in it, was originally conceived as a series of "birthday presents" and was launched with 140,000 Marks' worth of advertising.

Sixteen titles appeared and none of them sold more than forty per cent of the initial printing. Only after success was a long time in coming did the firm decide that it had catered for the undeniable demand with the wrong type of book.



Audio book at Frankfurt

An audio book was introduced at the Frankfurt Book Fair. The pages are impregnated with a foil which transmits sound by means of a so-called *lobrophon*. Words and music can be thus transmitted and the quality is quite good. The play-back apparatus is powered by mains or battery. (Photo: dpa)

Many readers are interested in contemporary history, especially if they have experienced it personally, but they are not necessarily interested in the year in which they and more prominent contemporaries happened to be born.

Extensive coverage and good write-ups in the press and on radio and television cannot help a book to success if it does not cater for the immediate interests of the reading public. Publishers concentrating on works of literature will agree.

Siegfried Unseld, the head of Suhrkamp, is in perfect control of distribution, the most important factor in achieving high sales figures, and has thus been able to sell to book-shops and consequently to purchasers books which another publishing company would not be able to market.

But he too has been responsible for some major flops. One of the most striking was the *Sammlung Insel*. This series died a slow death and had to be wound up after fifty volumes. The number of copies printed had sunk steadily from ten thousand at the beginning to 1,200 by the end.

Even ideas that seem to cater for the general demand can flop if they are poorly planned or applied to the wrong sector, as a number of publishers have discovered in recent years with a "non-book" called the card cassette. These works consist of a number of small cards on a variety of subjects such as sport, motoring and hiking. But none of these series proved successful.

But this idea is not basically wrong. The recipe cards published by Gräfer und Unzer have not flopped, nor has the "Gartothek", a series of over eight hundred cards, divided into cassettes of thirty, which deal with all aspects of gardening. An Ettlingen agency distributes these cards to the customers of a gardening equipment mail order firm on behalf of the Dutch firm that produces them.

Success cannot be plotted in advance on the book market. And flops need not always remain flops. Many worst-sellers have turned out to be best-sellers overnight. The number of large second-hand and old-book shops which print new editions of old titles as well as selling other works off cheap provides ample proof of this.

Selling a book at a cheaper price and distributing by means of a different system can revive interest long after the original publisher and the book trade has given up all hope of success.

The most recent example is a five-volume edition of the works of Ludwig Börne. Some years ago the Melzer publishing company invested a good deal of money in the venture and sold only two thousand copies. Seven thousand copies of the new edition published by Löwit of Wiesbaden have now been brought on to the market. *Heidi Dürr*

(Die Zeit, 19 October 1973)

Book Fair attracts record crowds

By the time the gates of Frankfurt Book Fair finally closed, its organisers were able to announce a new record. A total of 147,610 visitors had attended the Book Fair, the 25th to be held in Frankfurt. This figure represents a 25,000 increase on last year.

But the latest Book Fair was also calmer than in the past. There were no large-scale demonstrations. Peter Brückner, the professor of politics, and a small number of persons who shared his views protested about alleged torture in the Federal Republic's prisons.

Andreas Papandreou, the Greek politician in exile, accused the United States of being responsible for events in his homeland. Hans Nikel, the Frankfurt magazine publisher (*Pardon*) invited American actor Billy Frick along to the Book Fair in his Hitler costume to protest against the Hitler boom in the book trade.

The police, who paid special attention to the Arab and Israeli stands, did not need to intervene.

(Die Welt, 17 October 1973)

Frankfurt Book Fair's character is changing

A record number of visitors attended this year's Frankfurt Book Fair, the 25th. There were no political demonstrations as in the past, the largest publishing concerns did good business and the writers of best-sellers were given ample coverage by the mass media. In its anniversary year the Frankfurt Book Fair turned out to be a pure trade fair without any spectacular events.

Since the events of 1968, if not before, the Frankfurt Book Fair was more than just a market for books but provided an indication of the relationship of literature to society and intellectuals to politics. There was more than verbal tension in these past five years and some clashes grew violent.

There was little indication of open conflict at the 1973 Book Fair. The only din was caused by a group of youths who had dressed themselves in night-gowns, shaved their heads bald and loudly announced their withdrawal from the world in a sing-song chant.

Mystic tendencies are now more common at the Frankfurt Book Fair and the number of obscure small concerns has

Continued on page 11

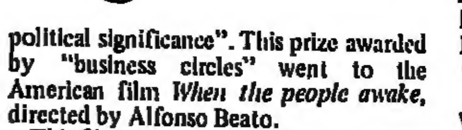
CINEMA

Mannheim Film Week – not vintage, but interesting

Walter Talman-Gros, for many years the chief organiser of the Mannheim Film Week, who died recently, was responsible for introducing a category of films by first-timers in 1961. His idea was to give young, talented and unknown directors their big break.

Once again at this year's festival, the 22nd, there were sixteen films in this category, competing for the Mannheim City Prize.

The international seven-strong jury awarded the 10,000-Mark director's prize to Yoichi Takabayashi from Japan for his film *Gaki Zoshi* (The water was so clear). This is a film entirely without dialogue, depicting in poetic scenes of soft beauty the temptation of a Buddhist monk who takes an errant girl into his house.



When he becomes witness to the love affair between the girl and a boy of her own age he is overcome by profane thoughts and feelings. The god whose purity he thus besmirches punishes him with death. The forty year-old director handles this tricky subject with such loving care that there can be no question of the film's being pornographic or blasphemous.

Mannheim presented for the first time this year a 6,000-Mark prize for a "documentary film of especial social and political significance". This prize awarded by "business circles" went to the American film *When the people awake*, directed by Alfonso Beato.

This film, made between September last year and May of this, studies the social situation of Chile under the late President Salvador Allende. Statements made in this film by the once and future ruling classes give an inkling of how the Allende era was to end. On the other hand the film shows the determination of workers and farmers never again to submit to suppression and exploitation.

The People's Republic of China was represented in Mannheim for the first time this year with three documentary films. These were viewed with great interest, since any information from China is still at a premium. The Chinese Embassy in Bonn considered the occasion important enough to send along the cultural attaché.

About three hundred films from 33 countries were shown to the selection committee. The committee sorted out 71 films from a couple of dozen countries. The showing of these was divided up into eighteen competition groups and fourteen information sections. Additional ad hoc information events and a retrospective "film of the year" increased the number of films on show to about one hundred.

Apart from the 400 filmmakers and close on 200 journalists there were members of the public at the festival. By the first day more than 300 season tickets had been sold.

The two main prizewinners are representative of trends permeating this year's Film Week. For there were several full-length feature films that relied entirely on the expressiveness of their visual content and dispensed with dialogue, music and sound effects partly or wholly.

And the social criticism films, which came from the Federal Republic, the United States, the Third World and less likely countries such as Egypt, Switzerland and Greenland, showed a more marked tendency for matter-of-fact information dissemination. General calls for revolution, excessively naive didactic and agitation pamphlets and practically incomprehensible ideological theorising took a back seat.

Politically involved filmmakers now prefer to show events that speak for themselves or to give detailed explanation to specific test cases. Two examples were *Der lange Jammer* (The long lament) by Max Willutzki and *Attica* by Cinda Firestone. Both received a Film Ducat worth 2,000 Marks.

In his semi-documentary feature film Willutzki depicts efforts by tenants on a building estate in Berlin to get organised following swingeing rent increases.

In order to plead to be treated more decently convicts at Attica Penitentiary, New York, took several hostages in September 1971. Police stormed the building and killed 43 people, including nine hostages. Hundreds were injured. Cinda Firestone collected facts on this incident, which had been grossly distorted by the American press. The film shows the plight not only of the prisoners, but of the whole of American society.

Another rigorous example of the modern "silent film" was *Le Cousin Jules* by Dominique Benicheti from France. This technically absolutely perfect film with a running time of ninety minutes is accompanied solely by intensive stereo sounds. With infinite cinemascope pictures it shows the simple life of an old smith, and at the beginning his wife, too. But she died midway through the five-year filming period. So intense is this depiction of rural life that one would think it were back in the nineteenth century.

Most of the documentary films showed a deal of sensitivity. Filmmakers today are far more concerned with putting across atmosphere, emotions and feelings than spectacular action. In most cases there is one or two main characters only. Often these are played by laymen and not actors.

These trends were held in common by films from Poland – *Through and through* by Grzegorz Królikiewicz; India – *Maya Darpan* by Kumar Shahani; South Africa – *Boesman & Lena* by Ross Devenish; or The Netherlands – *Zwartziek* by Jacob Bijl.

One exception was *Injun Fender* by Belgian-born Robert Cordier who lives in America, which ended the Film Week. Without doubt this was the loudest, wildest and maddest film of the whole festival. It covers the last 36 hours in the life of an Indian living in New York who becomes a rock star.

The Film Week this year was unfortunately not as good a vintage as the 1973 wine served in Mannheim.

Rolf Thissen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 October 1973)

Continued from page 10

also increased. A greater amount of pronounced social criticism can also be found in the publishing programme of larger firms.

Revolution has turned out to be good business and its one-time exponents have lapsed into apathy or political sectarianism. The Trade Fair Council, set up in 1969 much against the wishes of the organisers to represent the public, did not play a major role in this year's proceedings and should have died a natural death before the next Book Fair begins.

The clearest indication of left-wing apathy was witnessed at a teach-in in the Book Fair's congress hall. It was intended to inform visitors about the ordeals facing political prisoners but, instead of mobilising the liberal section of the public, the organisers indulged in an esoteric scientific discourse that had more than half the six hundred listeners heading disappointedly for the exits a long time before the end.

There was also a mood of disappointment among those writers who mistrust literature's function of changing society. Gerhard Zwerenz sat exhausted at one of the stands after a number of interviews about his new novel *Die Erde ist unbewohnbar wie der Mond*. He claimed to have written a political novel and time and again rejected the description *Stadtroman* that was writ in large letters around the stand.

But publishers look upon writers as not much more than good advertisements for the reputation of their concerns. Their advertising budget and their main distribution efforts revolve around the interchangeable best-sellers. The rights of these works were negotiated for hundred of thousands of Marks at the regular champagne and caviar evenings.

Many of the one-time reputable publishers have lost their image and will issue any literary or political work that promises to rake in a profit. Both publishers and writers claim that literature is being forced into a ghetto.

More optimism can now be displayed about children's books which can no longer be classified solely as bed-time tales. More and more young writers and illustrators are trying to impart creativity and the power of criticism.

The genre of the children's book is no longer as rigid as it was and many writers who would once never have stumbled across the idea of writing for children have discovered a possibility here of not allowing rigid attitudes to emerge.

The text-book section of the Frankfurt Book Fair revealed that the audiovisual euphoria about the end of the Gutenberg age is no more than wishful thinking on the part of technocrats and prophets of progress. The realistic view that audio-visual and printed information will complement and not combat each other in future appears to be gaining ground.

But the most striking feature about this year's Book Fair were the best-sellers and the ever-increasing efforts on the part of publishers to give their shortlived products an image that would encourage sales throughout the autumn.

Surrounded by all these grandiose promises that speculated in sensation, those writers who had journeyed to Frankfurt for the Book Fair appeared superfluous. Instead of being a place where information and opinions could be exchanged, the Book Fair is degenerating more and more into a trade fair of sensation.

Where will all this lead? Over the gates to the Book Fair there hung a banner with the title of Simmel's new book: *Und die Antwort weiss nur der Wind* (And only the wind knows the answer). The intellectuals at any rate are confused and the dealers happy. *Horst Brandstätter*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 17 October 1973)

Constance's famous metal disks

Copies of the four famous Constance disks, originally the work of an unknown 12th century artist, were made and installed in the east pediment of the Minster. Nikolaus Wirth from Osterwangau worked on the project for six months, using the latest techniques. The originals had to be taken into the building in 1923 for safety's sake because they were suffering too badly from the elements. (Photo: dpa)

Film Study Group starts work

The Cinema Study Group set up about eighteen months ago is to commence its work with the aid of a loan from the Kuratorium Junger Deutscher Film and from the beginning of next year with a subsidy from the Film Promotional Institute.

The 51 independent and local-government sponsored cinemas in the Group plan to coordinate their acquisition of films and their programme planning and to increase their galas of film classics, and retrospectives dedicated to directors and actors, as well as showing contemporary German films.

Sureties will enable the body to import those foreign films that are at present considered too much of a risk for commercial cinemas. Some of the films in question will be shown at the Hamburg Film Festival between 3 and 6 January.

(Die Zeit, 19 October 1973)

■ MEDICINE

Doctors oppose socialised medicine trends at 76th medical congress

Doctors do not stand on ceremony when pursuing their own interests. As prescribing too small a quantity of a drug is in their eyes a grave sin, they prefer to be too loud in their demands than too soft.

This country's self-employed medical practitioners have felt uncertain about their traditional rights and responsibilities ever since the Social Democrats and Free Democrats took over the reins of government.

Moreover, they feel that they have been systematically defamed by what they call certain circles. They are of course referring to the trade unions' health experts, the press, other media and their dissident medical colleagues who spotlight the shortcomings of the Federal Republic's health service.

They believe that the government is going to nationalise the medical sector and claim that those people who wish to change the system as a whole have chosen to make a start on the health service.

Once free medical practice is abolished, it will not be long before all freedom is a thing of the past, it was suggested at the 76th Medical Congress. At the end the Emperor Quartet was solemnly played and delegates stood as the National Anthem was struck up.

Representing free medical practitioners as a bastion of freedom in general introduces an irrational ideological character to the debate about the strengths and weaknesses of the Federal Republic's health service. The doctors have descended to the level of those persons who see socialised medicine as a cure for all ills.

At the moment the medical world is faced only by a number of reforms and improvements. There is for instance a shortage of general practitioners in rural areas. The doctors themselves claim that this is a temporary state of affairs and that the causes are obvious and can be remedied right away.

State Secretary Wolters of the Health Ministry is not satisfied with this explanation and stresses the State's right and duty to extend the equality of opportunity for all citizens to the medical sector as well.

Hospitals in rural areas could set up polyclinics for out-patient treatment or mobile clinics could tour those areas where the provision of medical care is below average, Wolters suggests.

Those doctors with their own practice view this suggestion as a preparatory step towards a breach of the law granting them exclusive responsibility for the care of patients covered by sickness insurance schemes.

When persons belonging to health insurance schemes are taken ill they normally have to go first of all to their family doctor. Only then can they consult a specialist or be admitted to hospital. Exceptions are only brooked in cases of life or death.

The whole affair is no more than a perfectly normal clash of interests that are in no way indecent and do not require the decoration of medical or libertarian pathos on the one hand or anti-capitalist slogans on the other.

Medical organisations have been unable to stop the gaps through their system of self-administration though they have been able to justify this shortcoming by pointing to the bottlenecks encountered in the training of medical students at university or mentioning the increased demands made of the health service.

The are also the temptation, of city life, they claim in their defence. Doctors can set up flourishing practices with "better" patients, their house-calls do not involve so much travelling as in the country and their children have better schools and leisure-time facilities. Country areas are unable to offer as much.

But these arguments are of little benefit to those patients who face an hour's drive to the family doctor legally responsible for their medical care. These people will tend to think that the government should provide them with better medical facilities.

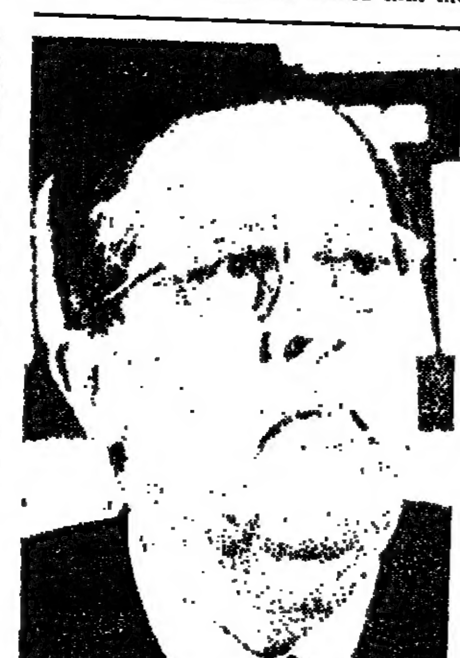
Moreover, it cannot be denied that the system of medical self-administration would face greater difficulties in this sector if the community did not come to its help by providing State or local authority grants for country doctors.

Independent medical practice must be preserved as a rational and proven system of medical care for the rural and urban populations. No politician to be taken seriously will deny this. Surveys reveal that ninety per cent of patients are also satisfied with the current system.

But such a complicated structure as a country's health service cannot always function completely without friction and partial breakdowns if only because of the increase of technology in the medical sector, the spread of urbanisation or the growing demands made upon it. That is why all its weaknesses and shortcomings should be discussed rationally. But mistrust and militancy dominated at the 76th Medical Congress.

Christian Schütz

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 October 1973)



Hans Joachim Sewering (Photo: dpa)

Medical congress elects new leader

Professor Hans Joachim Sewering of Munich, has, as expected, been elected president of the Federal Medical Association and the German Medical Congress. The election was necessary after Professor Ernst Fromm of Hamburg suddenly resigned for personal reasons. Sewering deputised for Fromm in both capacities and was always considered his likely successor.

The Medical Congress would have found it difficult to agree so unanimously on the choice of president as it did in Sewering's case. Sewering takes much the same medical and political line as his predecessor.

He therefore appeared to delegates as the right man to use the authority of his post with as much commitment as his predecessors to fight any dubious-seeming plans to change the health service.

(Die Welt, 13 October 1973)

Pharmacists' problems discussed at West Berlin congress

The pharmacist's sense of insecurity grows from year to year, from pharmacist's congress to pharmacist's congress. On the one hand there is the pharmacist's traditional feeling of inferiority compared with the medical profession. Doctors prescribe medicine while chemists sell it.

Pharmacists feel they are slipping down the social hierarchy of the health service. They, see themselves as academically-trained, white-overalled drug salesman and at the same time do everything in their power to prevent outsiders from noticing how they feel.

The outcome is that pharmacist's like to refer to their controlling function within the health service. They control drug manifacturers and also control doctors by checking the dosage of specific medicines they prescribe.

But they evidently look upon this role as extremely unsatisfactory, especially as self-medication, which usually occurs with the guidance and advice of the chemist, is not held in very high esteem.

But self-medication appears to involve extensive advertising, for example in the windows of chemists' shops, of drugs that can be obtained without a prescription. The legislature cannot prevent this practice but it would like to and perhaps should do, as well. If it did, chemists would see their standing reduced more and more.

During this year's Pharmacist's Congress in West Berlin's Congress Hall, delegates discussed the point of having pharmacists. Nobody, not even outsiders, dispute the necessity of having pharmacists, but delegates tried so much to hide their feeling of inferiority that it soon became obvious to the unbiased observer.

The most striking suppression of this feeling of inferiority came, however, from a doctor, Professor Josef Stockhausen of the Federal Medical Association. Like many of the doctors' leaders, Professor Stockhausen outlined the spectre of socialised medicine, and for lack of a suitable opponent and in anticipation of the Medical Congress in Munich, directed his sights on "publicised opinion" which, he claimed, did not coincide with the views of the public at large.

Stockhausen made things easy for himself by stating that socialised medicine was not made any the better by calling it by another name. Arguments of this type can be used to criticise anything.

The pharmacists did not allow themselves to be dragged into this general hostility towards reform – apart from a number of bursts of applause at the wrong places in Stockhausen's speech.

If it is true that "publicised opinion" differs considerably from the views of the "public at large" then it is just as true that the views of many doctors differ from the official line taken by the Federal Medical Association and speakers like Professor Stockhausen.

If the government's main aim is the reduction of retail prices, he said, this should not be achieved exclusively at the cost of the weakest link in the retail chain, the chemists.

Before the public could be given better information about pharmaceuticals, it was first of all necessary to provide a solid basis for judging the effects of various drugs, Alberti stated. Only then would it be possible to draw up rules for comparing drug prices. Alberti rejected the Economic Affairs Ministry's plan for reforming retail prices as unrealistic and directed only against chemists.

But pharmacists are troubled by more than their role or financial position. At present it seems impossible to standardise all the regulations applying to pharmacists in the various Common Market countries.

Article 57 of the Treaty of Rome sets out guidelines for coordination which the pharmacists reject. The Article aims at establishing complete freedom of practise for members of all Common Market countries.

The main objection to this proposal is that only the Federal Republic, Britain and Eire actually permit free practice. If the same system is not adopted by the other members of the Community before Article 57 is applied we would reach a stage where chemists from all Common Market countries would be able to settle in the Federal Republic, Britain and Eire but, because of local laws, no German chemist would be allowed to set up practice in France or Italy. It would therefore prove impossible to achieve the sensible distribution of dispensaries called for by Article 57.

But the Federal Republic cannot scrap its present system in order to conform to the more restrictive practice in the rest of the Community. According to Article Twelve of Basic Law – the Federal Republic's constitution – a person has the right to work wherever he wishes. No parliamentary majority can alter this. The laws governing the Community's pharmacists will not therefore be standardised in the near future.

Richard Fellmann, head of the Federal Board of Pharmacists, mentioned an ambiguity which can be seen in connection with the inferiority complex observed within the profession: "The pharmacist is primarily a member of the medical profession and only secondarily the owner of a retail venture."

Preserving the medical aspects of the pharmacist's job while at the same time ensuring his economic future is one of the main aims of the draft professional code drawn up by the Federal Board of Pharmacist's as the basic guideline for the codes to be drawn up by the Federal states' boards of pharmacists.

Richard Fellmann displayed great understanding of the problem: "If we do not represent our pharmacists' shop to the public as places which supply drugs, the across-the-board loss will eventually far outweigh the gain. Nobody in any of the parliaments or ministries would support the idea of having pharmacists shops run on purely commercial lines."

Wolfgang Bartsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 October 1973)

■ EDUCATION

Work-and-train course for Abitur holders

The Education Council recommended in its recent report to the central government and Federal states that school-leavers who do not wish to attend a full-time course of further study although they have an advanced certificate of proficiency – the *Abitur* – should be allowed to undergo a system of "dual training" at factories and universities or other institutes of further education. This system would form part of the public education system.

School-leavers with the *Abitur* are finding it increasingly difficult to find a university place in a subject they wish to study, if at all. Numerical entry restrictions are being imposed on more and more subjects and the competition among senior high-school pupils is growing fiercer.

The Educational Council therefore decided upon an alternative to study pure and simple, an alternative that would provide Abitur-holders with the same standard of tuition as at university as well as giving the same career prospects.

A recent academic survey showed that the situation was far from encouraging. By 1975 as many as 23 per cent of a school year will be taking their advanced school-leaving examination, compared with twelve per cent in 1972. And 95 per cent of them will want to study.

School-leavers with the *Abitur* display little or no interest in extra-mural courses. They are justified in taking this attitude as the Education Council has found that courses of training offered outside the university system are not suited to provide students with the same career prospects as university graduates. Graduates of these courses are usually unable to rise higher than the intermediate executive posts in industry and administration. Higher positions are reserved almost exclusively for academics. People who do not study at universities and institutes of further education are at a disadvantage when compared with the ever-increasing number of academically trained people. The Education Council therefore recommends school-leavers not to dispense with further education and try to rise up the professional ladder by going out to work right away.

If the Education Council's recent recommendations – published under the title *Planning Courses of Further Education with an Eye to Professional Qualifications* – are to be more than a gesture of consolation towards school-leavers who are unable to obtain a university place due to numerical entry restrictions, it must be asked whether the reform plans already existing are sufficient of whether new structures are required.

The Education Council found that there has so far been no cooperation between the education system and the world of labour. Both sectors make their plans independently. The Education Council believes that all educational reforms will prove fruitless if they can be ignored or even boycotted by industry and administrators.

The last sentence of its report therefore reads: "Education policy can only achieve many of its aims when it is regarded at the same time as an employment policy which observes the effects prompted outside education by changes in the education system and when it has the necessary powers to influence developments in the world of labour – and to anticipate them in border-line cases."

If the problem of switching from school to university and then from the education system to the world of labour is not to pose more problems than it has in the past (numerical entry restrictions, for instance), there must be a change in the personnel situation in the working world. Out-of-date hierarchical structures in both industry and administration must be dismantled.

The Education Council also believes that the aim of equality of opportunity should no longer be made dependent on *formal* academic qualifications. In other words, educational planning will only be stopped from entering one dead-end after another when education policy is seen as part of social policy and when changes in the academic sector coincide with changes in the world of labour.

The Education Council stresses that diverting the flood of school-leavers into extra-mural courses or increasing the number of university places available will not solve the problem.

It proposes instead dual training courses for non-students. Universities, industry and administration would participate in this tuition. These proposals, which have not yet entered a concrete stage, are addressed towards all the ministries of the central government and Federal states, to local authorities and private enterprise as well as to the Federal states' ministers of education.

The dual training system should help end the remoteness from practice encountered at universities and complement practical courses of training by providing academic tuition.

The Education Council proposes a building-block system. School-leavers should be able to follow their abilities and inclinations and piece together the various elements of their course of training – within certain limits of course. The trainees would receive their first professional qualifications – and a recognised certificate – after a short period of preliminary training incorporating elements of practical work in industry or administration and elements of university study.

After working in industry or administration for a little longer they would be given the opportunity of enlarging upon what they learned in their preliminary training course by attending university classes.

They would therefore be able to rise to the higher posts in industry and administration and there would no longer be any vast gulf between preliminary training and further study.

Every "building-block" of the courses of study would retain its value. The Education Council would like this gradual process of study to replace the current all-or-nothing system in which students who break off their courses of study or training are reduced to the position of school-leavers.

If this scheme is to be put into practice, it will require the cooperation of administration and private enterprise. They will have to abandon their varying opinions about academic and practical posts and end the privileged position of university graduates.

General education and career training must be granted equal status and practical courses of training must be offered by schools in the years leading up to the *Abitur*.

But it is only reasonable to doubt the realism of expecting changes of this type within the next few years.

Udo Bergdoll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 October 1973)

OUR WORLD

Hamburg plans to construct major dormitory town

The Hamburg branch of the Federal Republic's architects assocation expressed anxiety and concern that the project will not be regarded differently from similar major building ventures in other cities. It was recently stated that Hamburg's major building project – a dormitory town for 75,000 people to be built to the south-east of the city and to be named Billwerder-Allermöhe to be ready by 1985 – need not become a concrete waste totally lacking in "quality of living".

According to the five planning teams which included architects, town planners, engineers and sociologists and which have been studying the project for the past ten months the dormitory town which is to cost six milliards Marks would be "north Germany's Amsterdam".

The planning teams, two each from Hamburg and Berlin and one from Darmstadt, have made a virtue of the high water table at the 3,300 acre site. Canals will interesect the city of the future. The residential areas will be divided up by these canals and will be the main transport arteries of the city. Hydraulic equipment will siphon off excess rain and ground water into the Elbe and the Elbe tributary, the Bille.

It will be possible to row for pleasure in the middle of Billwerder-Allermöhe.

Hamburg's mayor Peter Schulz (SPD) has received sixteen feasibility reports from experts in this country and abroad, including Professor Walter Rossow. All have come out in favour of the plan designed by a Berlin team headed by Professor Egbert Kossak.

Speaking on the decision to accept the Kossak project Professor Rossow said: "It can be developed gradually. When it is a question of 70,000 people, like Rome, a city is not built in a day. This draft design allows for flexibility."

According to Professor Rossow the plan drawn up by the Berlin team allows the project to develop step by step. It allows for the individual development of each sector of the project. Because of this alterations can be taken into consideration without difficulty.



Hamburg's mayor Peter Schulz inspecting a map indicating the site of the proposed Hamburg dormitory town of Billwerder-Allmöhe in the Kaisersaal of Hamburg's Town Hall. Professor Walter Rossow of Stuttgart has recommended that the Hamburg Senate go ahead with the project. The new residential area will eventually provide homes for 75,000 people with ancillary facilities. (Photo: Conti-Press)

It is proposed that the residential quarter of Billwerder-Allermöhe is to be criss-crossed with canals but will retain its unity. The canals will flow through the residential quarter like aisles in a forest. Green belts will connect up with a supermodern centre, four lesser centres and the main quarter. There will only be a few roads available for vehicles.

Roads for cars will be built north and south of the underground, already in existence connecting with the residential quarter which will include 35,000 jobs.

Independent homes will be built on a courtyard pattern and will include playing areas for children, paddling pools and plenty of greenery. It is proposed to set aside more than 250 acres land for leisure activities, 25 acres have been reserved for shops and ten elementary and six advanced education establishments will be included in the complex.

The question of whether Billwerder-Allermöhe will be built or no has to be decided by Hamburg city authorities. The decision will probably be made this year. Before a final decision is reached however, the SPD and FDP ruling coalition in Hamburg's city government propose to hold public meetings so the people in Allermöhe as well as citizens in other parts of Hamburg can voice their views for and against this project.

Schulz in favour

But mayor Peter Schulz has already indicated that his administration is in favour of building the dormitory town.

He said at a meeting when he was handed the feasibility studies prepared for the project that his administration was in favour of going ahead with the project. He commented: "It is simply our duty to go ahead with the opportunity we have for this development."

Hamburg's House of Burgesses has already passed an outline agreement - the CDU Opposition opposed this – and Hamburg's Senate has negotiated an agreement with *Neue Heimat Nord*. This organisation will take over the planning of Billwerder-Allermöhe for a fee of 1[illegible] million Marks, with the hope that when this major project is finally decided upon *Neue Heimat Nord* will obtain a large chunk of the contract.

Hinrich Groth

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 October 1973)

DLRG celebrates sixty glorious years

The Federal Republic's life-saving society (DLRG), founded in Leipzig in 1913 can look back over its past with pride. In the sixty year's of its existence society members have saved more than 100,000 from drowning.

The society has 350,000 members in 14 state organisations – and it is the largest of its kind in the world. It claims that there is not a beach or place given over to swimming in the whole of the country that is not provided with a life-saver.

The DLRG has trained approximately three million life-savers and given swimming lessons to untold millions.

The DLRG is a member of the Fédération Internationale de Sauvetage and maintains over 1,200 life-saving stations, over 1,000 lifeboats and 160 vehicles. The DLRG has available such technical apparatus as two-way radio, resuscitation equipment and other technical aids to life saving, all of which were used more last year than ever before with the increase in the number of people who take holidays by the sea, by lakes and where swimming facilities are available.

Finances are provided in the main by society members, and the DLRG complains that insufficient public aid is offered them for the work they undertake.

The electrifying idea to form the society in the first place came about accidentally. On a warm Sunday in July 1912 the full to overflowing sea dike at Binz on the Baltic Island of Rügen gave way. Many people struggled for their lives in the water, but 17 were drowned. The whole country was shocked.

Eleven months later the forces of the fatherland were called upon to rally round. It was reported: "Each year 5,000 people lose their lives from drowning." Many people were aroused to take note of the problem. On 19 October 1931 members of the German Swimming Association and the gymnasts association joined together in Leipzig to form the DLRG.

The First World War hampered the development of the newly formed organisation, but by 1919 many places where people swam were manned by members of the society, all of them volunteers.

In May 1922 the first life-saving congress took place in Bonn and at the end of the twenties 28 states were participating in the society's work.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 17 October 1973)

Embarrassment in Oldenburg

Two massive state coffins made of Italian marble threaten with scandal the Lutheran church of Oldenburg, the protectors of ancient monuments in the one-time ducal town and the house of the grand dukes. No one wants the two huge coffins, one a memorial dating from 1667 to the most famous and most beloved rulers of Oldenburg, Graf Anton Günther and the first of the Oldenburg dukes, Friedrich August. They weigh tons and are empty. They are becoming weather beaten and falling into ruin in a cemetery exposed to the elements.

Two hundred years ago almost the sarcophagi stood in the Lambert Church, where the Oldenburg family used to worship. In 1970 it was decided to renovate the church and it was thought that the monsters would stand in the way of the plans the church authorities had. The architects thought this and the workers thought the same, engaged in constructing a new baptistry annexed to the 700-year-old church.

The sarcophagi devoid of the remains of any member of the ducal house, were first stored in the hall-well of a staircase prior to being transported to the church's cellar. Then the main point of the scandal came to light. The architects measured up the coffins and found that they were 23 centimetres too large to go into the cellar.

The huge coffins were transported with difficulty to the Gertrude cemetry. There they found a place in a corner next to the grand ducal family's mausoleum. The family had not been asked if the legless coffins could be left under the protection of, as it were, the family ancestors.

Since then the church authorities in Oldenburg and the local ancient monuments protection society have sought in vain for a resting place for the coffins. All attempts were foiled either by the weight or the size of the sarcophagi.

DIE WELT

Oldenburg church authorities vetoed a suggestion that the coffins should be moved to empty "catacombs" in the cemetery. They were not sure what the consequences would be of allowing this.

So the coffins which had been made by Roman craftsmen at great expense remain in the open. People who are associated with local organisations dedicated to preserve local works of interest including works relating to the ducal house have been getting more and more annoyed. They cannot understand that people who are eager to preserve the memorials to Oldenburg's past and do all they can for this end are not willing to move heaven and earth for the preservation of the two sarcophagi which according to a survey recently taken by an expert on marble are falling into wrack and ruin.

Pastor Hartwig Hinrichs, head of the local evangelical church, has written to Rasteder Schloss asking Duke Anton Günther to do something about the property of his house, and to arrange to have the sarcophagi properly looked after in the family mausoleum. But all in vain. "His Royal Highness" has not replied.

"No one has ever been laid to rest in the coffins," a spokesman for the local church authorities said, "so piety cannot be brought into it. We have offered them around but no one will have them."

Claus-Werner Caro

(Die Welt, 8 October 1973)

SPORT

National eleven gets ready for World Cup 1974

Regardless how the other side play the team must stay on top and play their own game. That's what I have told them, and in no uncertain terms," says national football coach Helmut Schön.

This is an entirely new approach. In the past – up to a point, at any rate – he has always told the team to adapt to the opposition's tactics. The new look testifies to a greater self-assurance based on the assumption that this country is a force to be reckoned with in world soccer.

"Team tactics are straightforward. Everyone listens to me," says captain Franz Beckenbauer, laying claim to an imperial role that is currently disputed in his own club, Bayern Munich, where players have been complaining to the chairman about "Kaiser Franz".

National team coach Helmut Schön continues to encourage Beckenbauer, however, knowing that without his artistry the team would run the risk of playing a more pedestrian game. In the game against France alone three Beckenbauer moves made text-book goalscoring opportunities.

The one led to a foul on Gerd Müller and a penalty goal. The second was such a glorious pass that goal-scorer Erwin Kremers later said he had felt like asking the goalkeeper which corner of the net he would prefer to let the ball in. The third one was messed up by Wolfgang Overath, who did not think fast enough and got off to too slow a start.

The basic outline of the football that can be expected from the host country in next year's World Cup is clear, then. All power to Beckenbauer!

This is a strategy with a monumental potential drawback, as analyses of the games against Argentina (lost 3:2), Yugoslavia (lost 1:0) and Brazil (also lost 1:0) show.

Smart trainers had young and ambitious players mark Beckenbauer well into the German half of the pitch with the result that he was worn out and could no longer concentrate. Beckenbauer lost many a midfield battle and his team lost the match.

France's coach Kovacs put the shortcomings of his own team, and by implication the strong point of this country's in a nutshell when he noted that "they lacked the class and power to cover the last thirty years to the opposing goal."

If Beckenbauer is only left time and elbow-room to come into his own in this part of the field the other side stands to lose, as has been shown in countless club and international encounters.

His game is invariably based on keeping the ball on a short rein, accurate passing and a kick-off leading up to a pass back to the captain, a classic move.

Then, with Beckenbauer back in possession, the ball under close control, he either passes again or launches an attack himself.

As Beckenbauer acts rather than reacts the difficulty for the other side lies in his speed and perfect ball control. There is not much the opponents can do, short of felling him.

In defence the same applies. Beckenbauer's ball control is his and his team's lifeline. Sloggers like Höttges, Weber, Vogts and others are assigned detailed cover jobs, being told to keep attacks by opposing players at bay.

"He must play in a disciplined manner," Schön tells them, leaving Beckenbauer to work out the strategy and organise the attack.

Beckenbauer, then, decides what is what thirty yards from either goal. "The way it works depends on the quality of the individual players, and as far as I am concerned Franz delivers the goods," Helmut Schön says, interpreting the performance of his team captain as he sees it.

The only point at which the home team may face difficulties in next year's World Cup competition is the midfield, certainly in the context of the comment by Hermann Neuberger, vice-president of the Football Association and chairman of the World Cup organising committee, that he expects the home team to reach the semi-finals at least.

The two recent internationals against Austria (won 4:0) and France (won 2:1) clearly indicate two problems the team face.

The one is that Beckenbauer is overstretched when he is expected to look after midfield play as well. The result is that his marshalling of the backs suffers. Even the Austrians, who still seem to view football in terms of a slow waltz, had two good opportunities of scoring.

Yet twice in recent months Austria has been given a good hiding: 7:0 by England and 4:0 by this country. Austria are backsliding. They have neither the energy nor the condition nor the speed nor the technique to match their opposite numbers in this country.

The German players won each and every race and battle for the ball. The were all on the move. Overath, Flohe and Hoeness were continually switching position. Müller, Grabowski and Kremers were invariably at the ready and potential goal-scorers.

The style demonstrated and the system used were similar to those that won this country the European championship title in 1972, but a second problem came to light in the match against France.

When the opposing side marks well and defends the midfield with a will, Overath and Flohe take too long to manoeuvre themselves and team-mates into favourable positions. They take too long to pass the ball to each other, hang on to the ball for too long and there are simply too many bad passes.

"We don't necessarily need Netzer. You don't have to take long shots every time. We can still win. That's what I tell Wolfgang," Beckenbauer says, making it clear what he has in mind for Overath.

attack and defence the team could still do with another Kaiser for the midfield. Netzer is swift and effective in situations where Overath looks over-hasty and too obvious.



Gerd Müller just about to score in the West Germany v. France match. The result was a win for West Germany, 2-1. (Photo: Nordbild)

Overath and Flohe add an athletic note to the team's play, but Netzer and Wimmer at their best are confusing and incalculable for the opposition and probably more successful.

"We plan to play a little more defensively in the World Cup competition," Helmut Schöm has been quoted as saying.

Günter Netzer may not do much marking himself but he does ease the burden for Beckenbauer and allow the captain to look after the backs while he organises and directs midfield play, keeping the ball to himself if need be.

Together with Erwin Kremers, Gerd Müller (who brightens up even games) and Ulli Hoeness (who is an outstanding outside right with his power and stamina) the whole concept must be what Helmut Schön has in mind.

"With Netzer and Beckenbauer on the team I have no need of tactics. That would be ridiculous. But with them our style and system are ideal," Schön concludes.

The next international against Scotland in Glasgow on 14 November will provide proof of the pudding. In the meantime waiting for the World Cup means waiting for Netzer.

Schön will be putting his squad through the hoop in seven more preparatory games. His laconic recommendation to all and sundry, both newcomers and old hands, is: "Play in the national team in the way that impressed me in your club games."

For a newcomer to an experienced team this is easier said than done. In his own team he is a leading light. On the national side he has first to find his slot. But there is still more than a grain of truth in Helmut Schön's dictum that the gateway to the national team remains open in both directions. *Jürgen Werner*

(Die Zeit, 19 October 1973)

Wolfgang Overath in trouble

Wolfgang Overath is in the news again. In the West (he plays for Cologne) they reckoned that soccer forward Overath gave the game against France its speed. In the South the feeling is that Overath would have been nothing without Ulli Hoeness of Bayern Munich. The crowd booed him but national coach Helmut Schön was unmoved, convinced that he had not earned the cat-calls.

Speed was certainly not his forte. Never has his left-footedness been so apparent and so evident a handicap, slowing down the pace of the game on many an occasion. The Munich fans overstated their case too, of course. Hoeness tended to stay ahead of the action; Overath's play was more in-depth.

You cannot please all of the people all of the time, for that matter, and when local boy Erwin Kremers failed to get the better of his opposite number, Grava, the crowd booed Overath instead when a number of his passes failed to reach Erwin at the right moment.

As for Helmut Schön whose views count, he had no objection to Overath's showing up till the time the home side went 2:0 in the lead, but in the second half Overath's fancy play was to blame for taking the goal-scoring egdge off a stage of the game at which the team's performance measured up to the 1972 European championship standards.

This fancy play not only rendered the overall showing mediocre; it nearly cost this country the game.

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 15 October 1973)

Federal league second division shows signs of giving trouble

There may still be a season to go but the Football Association (DFB) is already in the process of gestation and the signs are that the second division of the Federal league is going to give trouble.

From one day to the next an increasing number of people would sooner see the second division consigned to oblivion. In moral terms there could hardly be any objection. The second division is unquestionably the result of, let us say, an enforced liaison.

For years the DFB has been bombarded from influential quarters with the tenet that it need only introduce a second division in top-level professional soccer for all its problems to be solved overnight. In the end the Association capitulated.

Meanwhile it has grown apparent that the second division does nothing but create fresh problems. Already many people are calling for some kind of foundation for the second division (in much the same way as the second division is intended to bridge the gap between the top-flight professional game and semi-professional football) and there is something in what they say.

Already the clubs that are unlikely to join the happy throng are banding together, while the prospective second-division clubs are wondering whether they might not be in for an unpleasant surprise.

A great many clubs have already come to the conclusion that life is not so bad in the present regional leagues and remembered the old saw: "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Most clubs have long since felt uneasy about their forthcoming progeny.

The DFB is partly to blame for this malaise. Promotion is decided on the strength of a complicated, illogical and ill-considered system based on a club's performance over the past five seasons.

Last year's showing and the year before's and so on will partly determine whether a team's current performance is sufficient to ensure promotion. What price the equality of opportunity of which sport is so proud.

A number of the men responsible were instrumental in working out a similarly nonsensical grading scheme when the (first) Federal league was set up in 1963.

Five seasons or so later the original selection had been replaced by the eighteen strongest clubs in the country.

Ludwig Dotzert

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 October 1973)